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THE COMING OF THE GREEKS

I. THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRE-GREEK PLACE-NAMES

AT the suggestion of Professor Blegen I have prepared the accompanying map designed to exhibit the distribution of pre-Greek place-names and their probable source. The material I have taken almost exclusively from Fick's *Die vorgriechischen Ortsnamen*. Although I have consulted the various reviews of this work and other pertinent discussions available, I have ignored Fick's hazardous attempt to assign the names specifically to the Carians, Lycians, Lydians, Pelasgians, etc., and treated them en masse. Even so, the evidence of pre-Greek origin is of widely varying degrees of cogency, and while I have excluded some of the most doubtful cases, there will remain many names the pre-Greek character of which is far from indisputable. In general it is safe to say that Fick's list of pre-Greek place-names errs more on the side of inclusion than on that of omission. On the other hand, I feel convinced that some of the names I have excluded are really pre-Greek names in Greek disguise and owe their Greek appearance to the fact that they were confused by folk-etymology with Greek words of somewhat similar sound. Cf. *Ἱεροσόλυμα*, the form in the *Textus Receptus* of the New Testament, which probably owes its rough breathing to the Greek adjective *ἱερός*.

The map contains those place-names in Greece that seem to be related to place-names in Asia Minor. I have subdivided these names on the basis of the three kinds of evidence attesting their connection with Asia Minor. Group A includes those place-names that are identical with place-names in Asia Minor, Group B those that have suffixes that are common in Asia Minor, and Group C those in which the radical element is identical with or similar to the radical element in place-names in Asia Minor. The differences among these three groups are not those of relationship, but of the evidence whereby this relationship is indicated.

On the map the names in Group A are written in capital letters, those in Group B in small letters with initial capitals, those in Group C in "italics" with initial capitals. In Group B, names with the suffixes -nth- or -s(s)- are underscored.

It may be that a given name does not belong exclusively to any one of the groups, but shows two, or even all three kinds of evidence. Labyrinthos, for example, has a suffix that is common in Asia Minor, and the root of the word seems to occur in the name Labranda in

Ionia. Not only is Parnassos shown by root and suffix to be related to place-names in Asia Minor, but the name actually occurs there. However, for the sake of clearness and to avoid confusion, each name is classified under only one group. If the name occurs in Asia Minor it is classified under Group A. Names that are shown by both root and suffix to be connected with Asia Minor are put in Group B, since I regard the suffixes as affording clearer and more satisfactory evidence than the roots. In Group C, therefore, are left those names which are shown only by their roots to be related to place-names in Asia Minor.

The existence of a series of place-names in Greece that is identical with a series in Asia Minor clearly indicates, it seems to me, that one is original and the other transferred. Coincidence is out of the question for such a large number of names as those contained in Group A. And the evidence shows, in my opinion, that the transfer was from Asia Minor to Greece rather than that the converse was true. For the number of these names is so large relatively to the Greek names that the Greeks certainly carried to Asia Minor as to make it improbable that these two groups belong together. Furthermore, the geographical distribution of these names in Asia Minor makes it seem improbable that they were brought over by the Greeks. Certainly it is not likely that places so far inland as Hermos, Kadmos, and Skiritis owe their names to Greek influence, to say nothing of Parnassos, which is in the very heart of Asia Minor.

When we come to consider Group B the case is even clearer. It is conceivable that whole names might have been transferred from Greece to Asia Minor, but suffixes are out of the question, in view of the fact that these suffixes occur in names that are widely distributed in Asia Minor but are utterly foreign to Greece and to Greek.

Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, has argued convincingly for the non-Greek character of the two suffixes -nth- (the identity of which with the -nd- suffix in Asia Minor he establishes) and -s(s)- in place-names in Greece. He admits that the first of these suffixes occurs in some words, and the second in a great many that are Greek. The fact, however, that both of these suffixes occur with great frequency in Asia Minor, and that in Greece they occur attached to a great number of place-names the roots of which obviously are not Greek, leads him to think that these place-names originated in Asia Minor. In the case of the -nth- this explains why a suffix which has such a meager existence in Greek apart from place-names occurs with such frequency in them.

The suffixes -l-, -m-, -mn-, -n-, -r- and -t- I have included in Group B. I do not mean to imply that such suffixes are always non-Greek and that any place-name with any one of them is without further

ado to be called Anatolian. What I am suggesting is that Kretschmer's arguments for the suffixes -nth- and -s(s)- are applicable to these suffixes also.

It is needless to cite examples of these suffixes in Greek words. They all admittedly occur in numerous Greek words. But it may be worth while to cite a few examples of their occurrence in place-names in Asia Minor:

- l-: Tmolos, Mykale, Karmalas, Kinolis, Phaselis;
- m-: Idyma, Olymos, Sasima, Sidyma, Hyromos;
- mn-: Kremna, Larymna, Ordymnos, Methymna, Kalyrna;
- n-: Adana, Amanos, Dardanos, Lagina, Halasarna, Kynos;
- r-: Balbura, Gargara, Isaura, Karura, Patara;
- t-: Kozanata, Sindata, Othatis.

Since, then, these suffixes occur frequently in Asia Minor, and since place-names with non-Greek roots occur in Greece with these same suffixes, I regard such names as derived from Asia Minor and include them in Group B, though without the underscoring which distinguishes names in -nth- and -s(s).

Of the three groups the names in Group C afford the least satisfactory evidence for a connection with Asia Minor. The assumption of identity of roots is bound to be precarious when we are dealing with words in a language about which we know so little as we do about the language of Asia Minor. And since the meaning of the words is not known, we are forced to rely on similarities of sound and spelling, which are no doubt deceptive in some cases. Thus the independent evidence which Group C furnishes is rather weak. It is strengthened, however, by the fact that the distribution of Group C on the map is essentially the same as that of Groups A and B. This would seem to increase the likelihood that in most of the cases the assumption of relationship with names in Asia Minor is correct.

The following tables give the names in each of the three groups, alphabetically arranged:

GROUP A

Ἀβαι	Κελένδερν	Μυκαλησσός
Ἀσπος	Κορησσός	Ὀλυμπος
Ἐρμος	Λάρισα	Παρνασσός
Θῆβαι	Λάρυμνα	Πέργαμον
Θῆρα	Λίνδος	Πήδασσος
Ἰάρδανος	Λύκαστος	Σάμος
Κάδμος	Μαγνησία	Σκιρῆτις
Καρία	Μάρπησσα	Τάρρα
Κασταλία	Μίλατος	Τερμησσός

GROUP B

-nth-	Παρράσιοι	Ἡριδανός
Ἀμάρυνθος	Πραῖσος	Θεναί
Ἀράκυνθος	Πύρασος	Ἴτανός
Βερέκυνθος	Συπαληττός	Κάντανος
Ἐρύμανθος	Σφηττός	Κάρνος
Κήρινθος	Ταφιασσός	Κύνος
Κόρινθος	Τευμησσός	Λέρνα
Κύνθος	Τίασα	Μεδάνα
Λαβύρινθος	Τιταρήσιος	Μυκᾶναι
Οιάνθεια	Τυλισός	Σαλμώνη
Πρεπέσινθος	Ἱτητός	Σαμώνιον
Προβάλινθος	Ἱμηττός	Σίκινος
Πύρανθος		Σούνιον
Σάμινθος	-l-	Τευθρώνη
Τίρυνς (Τίρυνθος)	Ἀστάλη	Τήνος
Τρικόρυνθος	Καρδαμύλη	Ἵσσελινον
Ἱτάκινθος	Κίμωλος	Φαλάσαρνα
Ζάκυνθος	Μάλλα	
	Πάλα	
	Σκανδίλη	-r-
-s(s)-		Δρῆρος
Ἀμνισός		Ἐπίδauρος
Ἀρδηττός	-m-	Ἐφυρα
Βένκασος	Θύαμος	Ἱκαρία
Βριληττός	Θύαμις	Κησκώρα
Γαργηττός	Κίσαμος	Κύθηρα
Ἱλισός	Κύαμον	Μεμβλίαςρος
Καρνάσιον	Σαλαμῖς	Πάρος
Κερησσός	Σάμη	Πέλλερης
Κηφισός		Σύρος
Κηττός	-mn-	Τέγυρα
Κνωσσός	Δίκυμνα	Τιτάριον
Κορησία	Ρίδυμνα	Ὠλερος
Λαρίσιον		Ὠλίαςρος
Λαρύσιον	-n-	
Λυκαβηττός	Ἀλίκυρνα	-t-
Μαυσός	Ἀλπηνός	Εἵνατος
Μυκαλησσός	Ἀπιδανός	Καίρατος
Νάξος	Βέλβινα	Κύτα
Ὀρεσθάσιοι	Βελέμυνα	Σύβριτα
Παγασαί	Βήνη	Ταύγετον
Ποικιλασσός	Γερηνία	

GROUP C

Ἀβία	Αίλαια	Πρίανσος
Ἀξος	Μάσης	Σάρων
Ἀρβιον	Μεσσάπιος	Τραμπύα
Καλυδών	Μέταπα	Τροιζήν
Κορόπη	Μύων	Ἰτα
Λεβάδεια	Νάρυξ	Ἰσία
Λεβήν	Πίνδος	Ἰσιαί

The following tables contain the rest of the pre-Greek place-names in Greece not included on the map. Group D consists of names that may be related to names in Asia Minor, but which were so uncertain that I did not feel justified in putting them on the map. A -th- and an -ēn- suffix occur several times each, but I have not been able to establish their connection with Asia Minor. And finally, Group E, the residuum, is a heterogeneous group of pre-Greek place-names for the origins and relationships of which the evidence seems to be lacking. They may or may not be related to place-names in Asia Minor. At any rate I have been unable to find any specific indication of such connection.

GROUP D

Αἰδηψος	-th-	Σώπηθος
Ἀμύκλαι	Κάνηθος	Ἰρνάθιον
Ἐλευσίς	Κικύνηθος	
Ἰθάκη	Κρᾶθις	-ēn-
Κελυδνός	Πάρνης (Πάρνηθος)	Ἀραδήν
Λύκαιον	Πεπάρηθος	Θηρήν
	Σκιάθος	Τροιζήν (Group C)
		Λεβήν (Group C)

GROUP E

Ἀρβα	Θίσβη	Λῶς
Βίαννος	Ἰκος	Μασσαλὶς
Γαῦδος	Ἰστρών	Μιδέα
Γόρτυς	Κέως	Μινώα
Γόρτυν	Κήναιον	Νίσαια
Δίκη	Λάδων	Ραῦκος
Δίρφους	Λάτω	Σκάνδεια
Ζάραξ	Λέσβος	Σουλία
Ἡετιωνεία	Λήλαντον	Τάναγρα
Ἡτις	Λύρκειον	Ὠροπός

J. B. HALEY

THE COMING OF THE GREEKS

II. THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PREHISTORIC REMAINS IN GREECE

THE map prepared by Dr. Haley (Plate 1) is, so far as I know, the first attempt to show clearly in this form the actual geographical distribution throughout Greece of the not inconsiderable number of place-names, which the majority of philologists now agree to be of pre-Hellenic character. Not all of these names are above suspicion—many have indeed been called into dispute—but there can be no doubt that the group *en masse* is a legacy from pre-Greek times, and as such these puzzling remnants may certainly be regarded as weft-threads in the fabric of pre-history in the Helladic peninsula, which is so slowly being unravelled.

Not a few attempts have been made to associate these place-names with one or another of the various racial elements familiar in Greek tradition—Carians, Lycians, Lydians, Pelasgians, etc.—but the results can hardly be said to have been convincing or to have met with general acceptance. In view of the vast uncertainties regarding all these “races” which somehow obtained an entry into Greek folklore, all such attempts at identification must still be held to lie in the field of hazardous speculation.

In this paper it is proposed to make an effort in another direction, where our conclusions may perhaps be based on firmer ground—namely, to examine the geographical distribution of these place-names in order to ascertain if possible whether it coincides or agrees at all closely with the distribution of the material archaeological remains belonging to one of the periods which are now pretty well recognized for prehistoric Greece. Archaeological exploration in this field, especially in certain parts of the country, is still far from complete, and there are some unfortunate gaps in our evidence, but enough has been done to make this investigation appear worth while.

The preparation of the map was by no means an easy matter. Many of the names, it is true, belong to conspicuous natural features such as great mountain ranges, and may be assigned their place without hesitation. Others, however, little known, and not well attested topographically, could only be placed after a great deal of study. Thanks to Dr. Haley's patient research, however, almost all

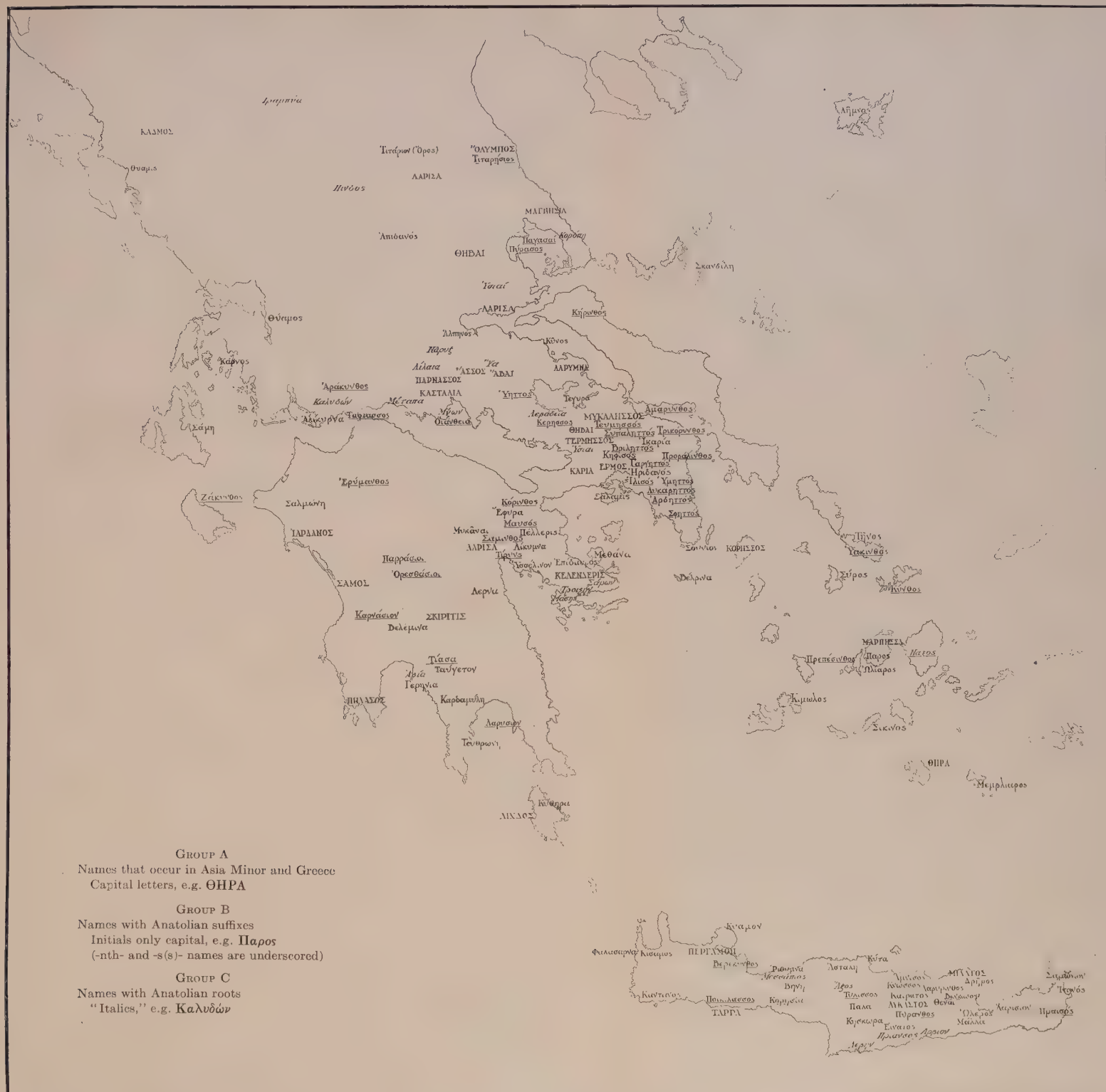


PLATE I. PRE-GREEK SITES

the names have been put more or less nearly in their proper places, and the map constitutes a document of real importance for "pre-historic history." Even though some of the places could not be established with absolute accuracy, the general distribution is certainly correct, and for our purpose here greater exactness is not necessary.

Dr. Haley has carefully separated the names into three groups according to the character of the evidence, and the kind of type in which each name is printed on the map indicates at a glance to which group it belongs. A scrutiny of the map will show, however, that so far as their bearing on the problem with which we are dealing is concerned, there is no distinction to be made among the three groups. Each appears to have practically the same distribution as the others and, though the possibility cannot be denied, there is no indication that we have anything in the nature of layers or strata here among these place-names, representing several successive languages. On the contrary, it looks rather as if we are dealing with a single closed group, representing one linguistic body. For the present enquiry, therefore, the whole group may be treated as a unit.

The actual distribution of these names, as appears from the map, is as follows:

Crete is thickly covered, especially the eastern and central parts of the island, and it cannot be without significance that among the names here are those of some of the most important Minoan establishments, such as Cnossus itself and Tylissos. Even in the western provinces, too, these names are not rare; and throughout Crete all three of Dr. Haley's groups are well represented.

Among the Cyclades also we find a good scattering of these names, many of the islands themselves bearing a pre-Greek designation; and here, too, all three of the groups are exemplified.

Turning now to the mainland we find the Peloponnesus to be richly provided with these evidences of pre-Hellenic occupation. Argolis and Corinthia particularly are abundantly supplied, and here again we have examples from all three groups. In Laconia, too, though the number is not so great, each group is represented, and the map suggests that the distribution here is due to a movement spreading northward from the Helos Plain. In Messenia pre-Greek names are scanty and not much more can be said than that they do occur. Arcadia likewise offers very few examples, but one of its most notable landmarks, Mount Erymanthus, must not be forgotten. To Elis only a very few names can be assigned, and for Achaea none at all are certain. The distribution in the Peloponnesus, therefore, indicates a rather populous settlement in the east

(Corinthia and Argolis), as well as in the south, whence it advances northward through the Helos Plain, while only scattered traces of occupation appear in the west and northwest.

Attica, Boeotia, and Phocis supply a rich store of these pre-Hellenic place-names which can only reflect a fairly intensive occupation by a numerous people. Dr. Haley's three groups are all in evidence here. In Thessaly also not a few names occur, scattered pretty widely over the whole province, and including examples of the three groups.

For western Greece the evidence is scanty enough: Aetolia is almost without a representative, though Acarnania is somewhat better supplied, especially in the neighborhood of Calydon. Epirus gives only three fairly certain names, curiously one each of the three groups; and in the Ionian Islands, finally, we see a few scattered traces.

In summary, then, it may be said that the distribution of these names points to a pre-Greek linguistic family occupying in force Crete, the Cyclades, southern and eastern Peloponnesus and central Greece, with offshoots extending beyond to the north, northwest and west into the adjoining provinces. It might be remarked that the appearance of the map suggests a linguistic movement from south to north—from Crete and the islands to the mainland along its south coasts and thence into the interior.

The specific problem before us is now to consider whether the geographical distribution of this linguistic evidence agrees with the distribution of the archaeological remains of one or another of the periods of the prehistoric age. If such be the case and the agreement be very striking, it would seem more than mere coincidence and we could proceed with some confidence to identify the association of the pre-Greek linguistic layer with the archaeological stratum in question; and without doubt such an identification would mark a decided step forward in this field of research. Its bearing would also be significant in two further points. In the first place, if we can identify the pre-Greek layer, it naturally follows that we can also recognize as Hellenic the succeeding layer and we can thus determine exactly where in the archaeological stratification the Hellenes first appear. Moreover, Dr. Haley's summary of the evidence, set forth above, is convincing proof that the immediate origin of this pre-Hellenic language, which spread over Greece and left its traces in so many place-names, is to be sought in Asia Minor; and his arguments show conclusively that the movement could not have been carried out in the opposite direction. We shall then, if we succeed in identifying the archaeological layer, be in a position

to say with reasonable certainty that the civilization it represents likewise came originally from Asia Minor.

The archaeological material we must consider belongs to two main stages in the prehistoric era, namely the Neolithic Period and the Bronze Age, and we may begin with the former. Neolithic remains have been found in Crete, and on the mainland from Thessaly to the Peloponnesus; but up to the present time the Cyclades have produced nothing whatsoever that may be assigned to this period. This blank in the Cyclades, together with the total difference between the remains in Crete and those on the mainland, which indicate no relation whatsoever, make it fairly certain that we must reject the Neolithic Period as the one in which some form of linguistic family-connection extended from Crete across the Aegean and over the mainland as far north as Thessaly; and we may accordingly proceed to the Bronze Age.

The three divisions of the latter, Early, Middle and Late—Minoan, Cycladic and Helladic—are definitely established and perfectly well known; and if they are not absolutely and exactly contemporary in all their phases in the three areas mentioned, they are certainly nearly enough so for the purposes of this investigation.

From the archaeological evidence available for the early division it can now confidently be said that the Early Minoan, Early Cycladic and Early Helladic civilizations "are all branches of one great parent stock which pursued parallel, but more or less independent, courses."¹ This close relationship is shown not only by the evidence of the pottery, but by that of other remains as well. The recent discoveries at Asine and at Zygouries have done much to strengthen this view. In this period we know that Crete flourished to a high degree, with numerous settled towns and a large population. Almost all the Cycladic Islands were likewise occupied, and there was certainly considerable traffic between them and Crete. At the same time Corinthia and Argolis were dotted with Early Helladic settlements in a state of great prosperity. The site at Palaeopyrgos near Vaphio shows that Laconia was also included in the Early Helladic sphere; and Early Helladic pottery has likewise been found at Hageorgitika in Arcadia, near Tripolis. No early Helladic remains have yet been reported from western Peloponnesus, but the gold sauceboat of undoubted Early Helladic date in the Louvre is said to be from Heraea on the Alpheus.

Many Early Helladic sites are known in Attica; and in Boeotia are several large important settlements of the same period. This

¹*Cf. B.S.A.* XXII, p. 180.

Early Helladic area stretched on in unbroken continuity into Phocis, where Professor Sotiriadis found such abundant remains at Hagia Marina. A thick Early Helladic layer at Lianokladi, the remains of a very large settlement, indicates that Early Helladic civilization extended northward into Malis; and Early Helladic pottery has been discovered beyond Mount Othrys in Thessaly also.¹

In northwest Greece exploration in this field has hardly begun as yet, and no evidence of Early Helladic occupation is available from Aetolia and Acarnania. But Early Helladic pottery of characteristic types has been brought to light at Levkas (Bossert, *Altikreta*, Plate I, 1 and 2), and one may prophecy with confidence that it will not long remain an isolated find in this region so far removed from other Early Helladic centres.

From this survey we see, therefore, that in the early period of the Bronze Age,—Early Minoan, Early Cycladic, and Early Helladic,—we have very closely the same geographical distribution of archaeological remains as that of the pre-Greek place-names shown on the map prepared by Dr. Haley. The agreement is, in fact, so extraordinarily close that it does not seem possible that it can be due to chance. Before, however, we are in a position to conclude definitely that these place-names are to be assigned to the closely interrelated Early Minoan, Early Cycladic and Early Helladic civilizations, we must consider the Middle and Late Periods to see if there is any possibility of identification there.

The Middle Period—Middle Minoan, Middle Cycladic, and Middle Helladic—clearly does not fit and can easily be rejected. For here, though the distribution of Middle Helladic remains on the mainland is not far different from that of the place-names, we find a total divergence of culture as between the mainland and Crete. In Crete Early Minoan civilization progressed in rapid development without a break and attained its height of magnificence in the splendid palaces of Cnossus and Phaestus. The mainland, on the contrary, seems to have been overrun and overwhelmed by a fresh and vigorous invasion, and Early Helladic civilization was brought to an end—abrupt in some places, more gradual in others. In the Cyclades we may perhaps see evidence of the meeting of these two currents in the discovery at Phylakopi, in the same layers, of Kam-ares ware from Crete and Minyan ware from the mainland. Though some scanty fragments of this latter ware have come to light in the eastern part of the island, it is clear that the great wave which brought this distinctive pottery along with it never broke over Crete; and we cannot imagine a close linguistic relationship at this

¹ *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 145.

time extending from Crete to Thessaly. The islands and the mainland were surely occupied by two different peoples.

We come, therefore, to the Late Period—Late Minoan, Late Cycladic, and Late Helladic. In its two earlier phases the civilization of this stage appears, if we may judge by the remains which have been uncovered, to have had a much more narrowly limited diffusion than that indicated by the distribution of the pre-Hellenic place-names; in the northern provinces of the mainland remains of these phases are almost totally lacking, and in the south it is chiefly in the great capitals that we find evidence of wealth and power. In Crete the Early and Middle Minoan race and language presumably still continue to exist; but on the mainland we have almost certainly a different race, the descendants of those invaders who brought Minyan ware into Greece. They have now come under powerful Minoan influence—so strong that many, with Evans, believe in a Minoan conquest of the mainland. But this influence is chiefly limited to the southern regions and does not penetrate very far into the interior. At any rate it is fairly sure that we can have no community of language and civilization at this time, dominating the whole area marked on the map by the presence of pre-Greek place-names.

The Third Late Period, on the other hand, Late Minoan, Late Cycladic, and Late Helladic, is the era of the widest diffusion of Mycenaean civilization, and characteristic remains have been found throughout the entire Eastern Mediterranean basin. In this period, it is true, the distribution of the material remains appears to correspond very closely with that of the place-names in the area under consideration. In Late Mycenaean times Crete and the Cyclades were still inhabited, and the southern mainland, especially north-eastern Peloponnesus, had reached its greatest height of prosperity. During this stage the use of Mycenaean pottery extended far northward through Boeotia and Phocis into Thessaly and even beyond into southern Macedonia. In western Greece the remains are comparatively scanty, but it cannot be denied that Mycenaean influence spread over the Ionian Islands and touched the coast of the mainland opposite.

A closer examination of the evidence, however, reveals some indications that the situation was not quite so simple as it at first appears. In Crete, perhaps as the result of invasion from abroad, perhaps from some internal catastrophe, the great palaces were destroyed by fire at the end of Late Minoan II, and the succeeding stage shows only a feeble survival, probably under mainland domination. Some sites were undoubtedly abandoned for a time, at least;

at any rate it looks as if henceforth two elements in the population must be taken into account: a subject class and a ruling caste, the latter not necessarily very numerous. It was presumably an offshoot from the powerful dynasties established at Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid; while the bulk of the population was almost surely still constituted by the survivors of the indigenous Minoan stock, who had surely not been exterminated. To this latter native element, clearly different from the people of the mainland, undoubtedly belong most of the place-names in the island: it is certainly unlikely, not to say incredible, that the names of Cnossus itself and of other great Minoan centres, which have come down to us, should be new designations applied to these ancient historic places by raiding bands from the mainland. These names surely go back to genuine Cretan traditions and records of an earlier age, and must have existed long before the invasion of the island by the people of the mainland in Late Helladic III.

Since, then, it appears that we have no real homogeneity in this period, so far as Crete and the mainland are concerned, I think we may safely conclude that the Third Mycenaean stage—Late Minoan III, Late Cycladic III, Late Helladic III—is not the one to be associated with the pre-Greek place-names. The admirable summary of the linguistic evidence presented by Professor Buck¹ has, as a matter of fact, shown conclusively that some form of Greek was already established on the Helladic peninsula as early as the beginning of Late Helladic III (that is, about 1400 B.C.), and the discussion in the preceding paragraph might seem to be quite unnecessary; its justification is that we are here trying to reach an independent solution of the same problem through a consideration of the purely archaeological evidence.

All other possibilities having thus for one reason or another been eliminated, we may accordingly return to the Early Period of the Bronze Age—Early Minoan, Early Cycladic, and Early Helladic—in which we found the distribution of the archaeological remains to be in such remarkably close agreement with that of the pre-Greek place-names. And I think we need no longer hesitate to identify the two phenomena as belonging to one and the same period and group and people. The association of the -nth- and -ss- names with the Early Minoan, Early Cycladic, and Early Helladic remains is not indeed a new idea; it was suggested many years ago by Professor Kurt Müller, and it is proposed by Harland in his paper on the Peloponnesus in the Bronze Age (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV, 1923, p. 10). The map prepared by Dr. Haley, which

¹ *Classical Philology*, XXI, 1926, pp. 1-26.

now for the first time puts all the evidence of these names before us in its geographical distribution, adds weighty confirmation to this theory.

For a test of its correctness we may properly be asked to turn to Macedonia, which was not included in the area under consideration by Dr. Haley. Names of un-Greek character are, of course, not rare in this region, though many of them may perhaps be referred to the "barbaric" tongues which were spoken here even in Greek times. Among these names, however, are a few which seem unquestionably to belong to the same pre-Hellenic group with which we have been dealing in Greece proper: as examples may be mentioned Olynthos in Chalcidice, Sindos or Sinthos on the Thermaic Gulf, perhaps Bottiaea, and certainly Kalindoia or Alindoia in Mygdonia. The -nth- and the -nd- stems, especially, offer convincing evidence of the presence of a pre-Greek layer of place-names. If the association of the linguistic and archaeological layers proposed above is correct, we must then expect remains of the Early Bronze Age, clearly related to those of the Early Helladic and the Early Cycladic periods in the regions farther south, to make their appearance in Macedonia. Unfortunately, only a few Macedonian sites have as yet been adequately excavated, and much valuable evidence must still lie buried beneath the soil. The whole peninsula of Chalcidice, for example, is still an unopened book, so far as excavations are concerned. But a highly significant exploration has been carried out by S. Casson at Kilindir, a site, the name of which is believed by some to preserve in a modified form the Kalindoia of Ptolemy, and which, at any rate, is situated in the very district where Kalindoia probably lay. The lowest stratum here belongs to the Early Period of the Bronze Age; in it Casson found objects—chiefly pottery—which, as he points out, show unmistakable kinship with the Early Cycladic remains of the Aegean area. Indeed, the askos and the pyxis, which Casson illustrates, speak for themselves in no uncertain terms,¹ and one cannot escape the conclusion that the results of the excavations at Kilindir offer a most striking confirmation of the identification proposed above.

The terminal date of the Early Helladic Period is now established with a fair degree of certainty. We know that the period overlaps the First Middle Minoan stage in Crete, and its end must fall somewhere between the year 2000 and 1800 B.C. Future researches may perhaps make it possible to fix the date even more exactly, though the transition was probably a slow and gradual one. At any rate we can hardly go far astray if we take, in round figures, the year 1900

¹ *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, p. 136, fig. 44.

B.C. as marking the passing of Early Helladic civilization on the mainland and its supersession by the earliest form of Hellenic culture. The results of our enquiry have, therefore, led us to push backward some three hundred years the date of arrival of the first Hellenic stock, which Professor Buck, on the linguistic evidence, would place at least as early as 1600 B.C. The still earlier date, *ca.* 1900 B.C., corresponds far better with the archaeological evidence, since it coincides with a clearly indicated cultural break, whereas no satisfactory evidence for such a break can be shown at 1600 B.C., when the archaeological remains point to a continuity of development rather than to a rupture. We find ourselves, therefore, in essential agreement with E. Meyer and Beloch, who on other grounds have placed the first entry of people of Indo-European stock into Greece at the end of the third millennium B.C. These people were, of course, not yet Greeks, as the term is understood in its later significance; but they undoubtedly formed the persistent basic stock, which, constantly stimulated by the influx of further kindred waves, influenced by its heritage from Early Helladic times and even more powerfully by its contact with the Minoan world, moulded by environment and climate, and gradually tempered by the struggles and vicissitudes of the following centuries, ultimately became the producer and bearer of Hellenic civilization.

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BASILICA AEMILIA

A VETERAN topographer should perhaps be no more affected by the sight of a deforming projection in the ground-plan of some building than by the discovery of an aberration in the course of a drain or an unexpected enlargement of a sewer. For him all three are merely a challenge to his science; and topography is certainly one of the calmest that can be pursued. But no such emotional equability, no such parity of interest can be expected of one who has not specialized in that field. Accordingly, when the usual Classicist, studying the ruins around the Roman Forum, finds the Basilica Aemilia thrusting out its southeast corner to a distance of seven and a quarter metres in a jut that is contrary to all his ideas of monumental symmetry, he can hardly regard it with the same callousness as he does, let us say, the redirection of the course of the Cloaca Maxima. Although I have read, I think, all the ancient passages that scholars have brought to bear upon this basilica and have added some finds of my own, and have, furthermore, carefully digested as much of the voluminous modern literature upon the subject as is accessible to me, I can find among the topographers no explanation to account for an architectural asymmetry that has long and perhaps unduly offended me and piqued my curiosity to a high degree. To find the motive for this unusual construction was, then, the original purpose of my research. But if we can throw any light on this problem, it will prove of importance to other phases of ancient life than the mere identification of localities, important though the latter is to students in many fields. Some account of the history of the whole building is a necessary preliminary to our investigation.

The Basilica Aemilia, as we call it today, recalls by its name a family that perhaps did as much for the architectural glory of Republican Rome as any other. Well might Cicero say ¹ of the triumvir Marcus Lepidus in B.C. 13: *magnis et multis pignoribus M. Lepidum res publica inligatum tenet. Summa nobilitas est, omnes honores, amplissimum sacerdotium, plurima urbis ornamenta, ipsius, fratris, maiorumque monimenta.* But, unfortunately, our ancient information about most of the works with which the Aemilii embellished Rome is so slight that we must greatly regret the loss of that monograph which Atticus composed ² upon the family. Many

¹ Philippiens, 13. 4. 8.

² Our informant is Nepos, Att., 18. 3. 4. We may compare *Hermes*, XL (1905), p. 50, Atticus als Geschichtschreiber, by Münzer.

men in midlife will recall their early visits to Rome when the Basilica Aemilia was still shrouded with the accumulated soil of the ages, and, as they review the research of the last quarter century, may well wonder whether its excavation has not revealed as many new puzzles to ponder as it has solved old. There is, indeed, in the books a notable amount of disagreement about matters in which certainty, or, at any rate, near certainty can yet perhaps be reached. For instance, the very nomenclature of the building, in its changes through the ages, has been handled at times rather negligently, to the impairment of judgments upon questions of a larger importance.

Livy tells us¹ that in 179 B.C. the censors M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius (Nobilior), each with his own assignment of the national funds, built various public constructions. After listing those of Aemilius, and among them one in which the censor's own private finances had been concerned, he gives those for which Fulvius let the contracts, stating incidentally that the works which he undertook were more numerous and of greater utility. Among them there were a basilica, which was built behind the *argentariae novae* and a fishmarket, which he surrounded with shops which he sold to private individuals.² There is nothing said about the name of the basilica, and, so far as the language of Livy is concerned, it is no more reasonable to link Aemilia with Fulvia in the case of the basilica³ for which Fulvius was responsible than to use both adjectives for any construction that was solely the charge of Aemilius Lepidus. The very fact that Livy expressly apportions the public works between the two officials, favors the view that the basilica was called Fulvia from the man who actually founded it.⁴ More-

¹ 40. 51: opera ex pecunia attributa divisaque inter se haec confecerunt. Lepidus molem . . . M. Fulvius plura et maioris locavit usus . . . basilicam post argentarias novas et forum piscatorium circumdatis tabernis quas vendidit in privatum.

² Thédénat is, therefore, inaccurate when he says, *Le Forum Romain et les Forum Impériaux* (cited henceforth as "Thédénat"), p. 139: M. Fulvius Nobilior . . . fonda . . . une basilique . . . et l'entoura de boutiques qui furent louées à des particuliers; so, too, Gatteschi, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* (referred to hereafter as "Bull. Com."), XXVII (1899), p. 116.

³ But this is commonly done. Compare Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* (to which I shall refer hereafter by the name of the author alone), p. 95; Gilbert, *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* (hereafter "Gilbert"), III, p. 213, note 2; Van Deman, *A. J. A.*, XVII (1913), The Porticus of Gaius and Lucius (hereafter "Van Deman"), p. 25.

⁴ For the censor's prerogatives in this particular see Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (cited from here on as Pauly), s.v. censores, p. 1904, line 46. Of public works due to Aemilii, an example would be the Via Aemilia, which the censor of 109 B.C., M. Aemilius Scaurus, constructed in northern Italy. On the other hand, the Aemilian Bridge over the Tiber was built by a quaestor of that name, Plutarch, *Numa*, 39.3 (Gilbert, p. 259), and the Porticus Aemilia outside the Porta Trigemina was erected in 193 B.C. by two Aemilians who were aediles, M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus, Livy, 35. 10. 11-12 cf. 41. 27. 8).

over, investigation reveals in our authors no other instance of a building bearing the names of both censors, and the directly opposite practice is attested by our closest parallels. For instance, we have a similar apportionment of funds but an individual nomenclature when the Basilica Sempronia was erected: Livy, 44. 16. 10: Ti. Sempronius ex ea pecunia quae ipsi adtributa erat, aedes P. Africani pone Veteres ad Vortumni Signum lanienasque et tabernas coniunctas in publicum emit basilicamque faciendam curavit quae postea Sempronia appellata est. Equally apposite is the case of the censors who were building independently of each other five years before the Basilica Fulvia was erected; for we read in Livy, 39. 44. 6: et separatim Flaccus molem ad Neptunias aquas . . . Cato atria duo, Maenium et Titium, in lautumiis et quattuor tabernas in publicum emit, basilicamque ibi fecit quae Porcia adpellata est. The Basilica Porcia never figures in any way under the name of Cato's colleague in 184 B.C., L. Valerius Flaccus.¹

Statius,² writing as a court poet about 90 A.D. concerning the colossal equestrian Statue of Domitian, refers to our basilica in the following lines:

at laterum passus hinc Iulia tecta tuentur
illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli
terga pater, blandoque videt Concordia vultu.

But it would not be safe to conclude, as some have done,³ from this single allusion that Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Perseus, did anything to this building during his censorship of 164 B.C. By the poet's day it had long become so much a monument of the Aemilian family that he might naturally call it the *regia Pauli*. Jordan⁴ conjectured that some trophy or effigy of the great hero, set up in the basilica, was the poet's reason for the reference, and there are, indeed, surviving titular inscriptions which indicate that the building became increasingly a sort of memorial museum of honorary monuments⁵ while still serving fully its primary purposes of a utilitarian character.

Topographers have chosen as the next date in the chronology of the Basilica Fulvia 159 B.C., when, according to Pliny (*N.H.*, VII.

¹ To take the case of a consular construction, the term Basilica Opimia gives no hint that the colleague of Opimius in 121 B.C. was Q. Fabius Maximus, whose defeat of the Allobroges won him the erection of the Fornix Fabianus, the site of which is to prove of much importance to our investigation. The arcus Lentuli et Crispini of the consuls of 2 A.D. is the only coupling of names of which I have knowledge.

² I, 1. 29.

³ Cf. Lange, *Haus und Halle*, p. 171; Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*,² I, p. 6.

⁴ II, p. 393.

⁵ On the basilica as a Hall of Heroes see Huelsen, *Röm. Mitt.*, XX (1905), p. 59.

215), Scipio Nasica, being the first to construct a day-and-night clock of the clepsydra type, set one up *sub tecto*. The Latin runs as follows: Scipio Nasica collega Laenati primus aqua divisit horas aequae noctium ac dierum idque horologium sub tecto dicavit anno urbis DXCV. Even scholars most gifted with powers of divination would hardly have ventured to guess that the building within which this water-clock was dedicated by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica was none other than the Basilica Fulvia,¹ were it not that Varro,² more than a century later, after stating what he had seen engraved on a sundial at Praeneste, says of some Cornelius: D antiqui non R in hoc dicebant ut Praeneste incisum in solarium vidi. solarium dictum id in quo horae in sole inspiciebantur quod Cornelius in basilica Aemilia et Fulvia inumbravit. Some think, therefore, that *inumbravit* means "he set it up in the shade," recalling *sub tecto*; that Cornelius was Scipio: that *solarium* was the water-clock. The first is lexicographically reasonable,³ the second historically possible, but the third hard to justify in view of the fact that the author has just been discussing the lettering of a sundial and has actually used the words *in quo horae in sole inspiciebantur*, defining the *solarium* as a sun-clock. Shall we throw out those words as a gloss on *solarium*, a definition that has been interpolated by some late scribe who knew of the passage in Censorinus, 23. 7? This runs as follows: deinde aliquanto post P. Cornelius Nasica censor ex aqua fecit horarium quod et ipsum ex consuetudine noscendi a sole horas solarium coeptum vocari. But such an excision is drastic, to say the least, and it may be simpler to take the description of the sundial on which they would note the hours whenever there was sunlight as that of a *solarium* for which some Cornelius marked the lines for the shifting shadow on the outside of the Basilica Aemilia et Fulvia. So far as Nasica's instrument of time is concerned, we know that he erected a portico on the Capitoline,⁴ so that this may have been the edifice that sheltered it *sub tecto*.

Some have thought that, in the days of Varro, Cornelius would mean Cornelius Sulla, who, of course, may have seen at Praeneste the very sundial which had attracted Varro's attention. He cap-

¹ Goetz-Schoell in their edition of Varro, *L.L.*, p. 58, and, among the topographers, H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* (hereafter abbreviated "Jordan"), I, 2, p. 392, and note 111; Gilbert, III, p. 213, note 2; Thédénat, p. 139; De Ruggiero, *Il Foro Romano* (hereafter "Ruggiero"), p. 398; Huelsen in Pauly, *s.v.* Aemilia basilica.

² *L.L.*, 6, 4.

³ While, in this passage, Harper's *Latin Dictionary* defines *inumbrare* "mark the shadows upon," "mark out," "layout," and Georges, *Wörterbuch*, "Etwas im Schattenriss entwerfen," Forcellini, *Lexicon*, mistakes the time-teller for a roofed sun-parlor, *solarium tectum* (cf. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben*, p. 247, note 7).

⁴ Vell., 2. 1. 2; 2. 3. 1.

tured that town in 82 B.C. But even if Sulla was the man that the Polymath meant, we are not necessarily to suppose that the two sundials were the same;¹ Varro would not have used *id.* But whether Cornelius was the Dictator or not, and I incline to the negative² (since such historians as, for example, Sallust and Plutarch always introduce the cognomen), no use of these passages will prove that the basilica as yet bore a double name: we cannot assume that Varro is calling the basilica by anything other than the name that was current when he was writing his *De Lingua Latina*. This was between 45 B.C. and the death of Cicero.³ There may have been a special reason which we shall ascertain why the building might then be designated sometimes by a double appellative, while in 159 B.C. it was still the Basilica Fulvia, as all our evidence indicates.

In 78 B.C. M. Aemilius Lepidus and Quintus Lutatius Catulus were colleagues in the consulship. Speaking of those who had displayed portrait-shields, *clipea*, upon buildings, Pliny, *N.H.*, 35. 13, says: post eum M. Aemilius, collega in consulatu Quinti Lutatii, non in basilica modo Aemilia verum et domi suae posuit, id quoque Martio exemplo. While it might seem a pure assumption that the hanging of shields⁴ upon the basilica implied that M. Aemilius had either just built it or had restored that of Fulvius,⁵ a passage that has been overlooked in this connection would support this hypothesis. We read in Pliny, *N.H.*, 36. 49: M. Lepidus, Q. Catuli in consulatu conlega, primus omnium limina ex Numidico marmore in domo posuit magna reprehensione. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that while Aemilius was scandalizing Rome by putting the precious marble from Numidia to such humble domestic use (in massa ac vilissimo liminum usu, says our author, a little further on), he was, at the same time, delighting his fellow-citizens by employing it with other building material in such extensive reconstruction of the Basilica Fulvia as to associate the hall thereafter primarily with his family name.

¹ The view expressed in Platner, Bunsen, *et. al.*, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* (hereafter cited by the first two authors' names), III, p. 31. Cornelius is identified as Sulla by Borsari, *Topografia di Roma antica* (hereafter "Borsari"), pp. 223-224; Gatteschi, *Bull. Com.*, XXVII (1899), p. 116.

² Of course, the imaginative can conjecture that the word Sulla has dropped out after the Cornelius.

³ Schanz, VIII, 1. 2, p. 441.

⁴ Roman *denarii* give us some idea of his personal appearance; Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine* (hereafter "Babelon"), I, 131-134, Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe*, Tafel, I, 5, Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (henceforth cited as "Grueber"), III, Pl. LVI, 9. 13; LVII, 11. Possibly, however, the shields displayed only the likenesses of his ancestors.

⁵ Platner, Bunsen, III, p. 31; Thédenat, pp. 139 and 252; Gilbert, III, p. 214, note 1, and p. 215; Jordan, I, 2, p. 392, note 111.

Although we cannot safely use Pliny as a witness to any change in nomenclature made a century and a half before the time when he was writing, there is excellent testimony for the new name Basilica Aemilia only thirteen years later than our present date, 78 B.C. I refer to the coins of the moneyer of 65 B.C., M. Aemilius Lepidus,¹ the triumvir, who was son of the M. Aemilius Lepidus with whose work on the basilica we have just been dealing. On his money we have the inscription M. LEPIDVS AEMILIA REF. S. C. *Aemilia refecta* on a coin that pictures the basilica with the shields adorning it attests a restoration by the moneyer himself, since the name appears in the nominative case. The topographers,² however, overlooking this numismatic usage, interpret as if we had LEPIDO, and accordingly consider the coinage a memorial to the building activities of the father. The money of another member of this Aemilian gens might have set them right, where the inscription runs M. AEMILIO LEPIDO³ in honor of a builder of a public work, pictured by three arches (surmounted by an equestrian statue) which are variously explained.⁴

When we come to our next and most important date, B.C. 54, we must recall the appearance of the Basilica Aemilia on the coin as a fine two-story structure,⁵ and also bear in mind that it had already received considerable repairs during the preceding quarter of a century. We turn now to a passage in Cicero's letters to Atticus,⁶ belonging to the month of June in the year 54 B.C. The Paulus or Paullus to whom he refers is the L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, son of M. Aemilius Lepidus, that consul of 78 B.C. who had rebuilt the basilica and adorned it with shields, and brother of the triumvir, M. Aemilius Lepidus, who had pictured the building with its martial embellishment on his *denarii* of 65 B.C. He was curule aedile apparently in 55 B.C.,⁷ the year before Cicero was

¹ Grueber, I, pp. 447-448, 450 (nos. 3650-3653), III, Pl. XLVI, 11; Babelon, I, 129, no. 25; Gilbert, III, 214, note 1, referring to Cohen, Cons. Aemilia, no. 8, says: Während der Avers Bild und Namen eines Lepidus zeigt.

² Jordan, I, 2, p. 392, note 111; Gilbert, III, p. 214, note 1. Thédenat, p. 139, even makes the mistake of thinking that the consul of 78 B.C. is the same man as the moneyer of 65 B.C.

³ Grueber, II, p. 291, note 2; Babelon, I, 117: Le datif indique que l'inscription se rapporte à la statue et non au monétaire.

⁴ Babelon, I, pp. 117-118; Grueber, II, p. 291, notes 1 and 2; and III, Pl. XCIV, 11; Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, V 1, 27. We find other coins that picture arches, Grueber, I, 485, 486, 306, 313; L. Marcus Philippus has an equestrian statue on five arches of his aqueduct; we have even an arcade of seven, no. 3895, III, Pl. XLVIII, 17.

⁵ I wish that we could be sure whether the view on the *denarius* pictures a façade or, as some have thought (cf. Lange, *Haus und Halle*, p. 171), the interior of the building. The sketchy and symbolic methods of ancient die-engravers have left much for our imaginations to work upon.

⁶ 4. 16. 8 (14).

⁷ Pauly, s. v. Aemilius, No. 81.

writing. Paulus in medio foro basilicam iam paene texerit isdem antiquis columnis, illam autem quam locavit facit magnificentissimam. Quid quaeris? nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius. Itaque Caesaris amici, me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet, in monumentum illud quod tu tollere laudibus solebas ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus contempsimus sexcenties HS. The word *texerit*¹ has to be emended. The choice of *texuit*² introduces the metaphor of weaving which seems hard to apply to the architecture of a colonnaded hall,³ however natural it may be to use it, e.g., for the fabrication of a ship's hull. *Refecit*⁴ departs too far from the *ductus litterarum*; so, too, *erexerat*.⁵ A slight change is to *texerat*,⁶ which fits well with the *iam paene*.

So few years had elapsed since the restoration of B.C. 65, we wonder what had happened to the basilica to require such an extensive rebuilding. Possibly there had been an earthquake. At any rate, Paullus had already almost finished roofing his new construction in *medio foro*, but with the use of the same old columns, when something happened that led him to discontinue this relatively inexpensive operation. We may assume that Atticus knew what this happening was; for Cicero continues "but the basilica for which he has let the contracts (in other words, the building in its new form) he is erecting with the extreme of magnificence."⁷ This seems to me a more reasonable interpretation than to assume⁸ that Caesar, though absent in Britain, had ordered the commencement of the Basilica Julia and that it is to that structure that the *illam* refers. It is rather in the *ut forum laxaremus* that we would see a reference to

¹ Mss. C M' Z'; textit M2 (Clarendon Press, Oxford, Text). My immediate purpose does not require a textual discussion of the last sentence: cf. note 5, p. 166.

² Baiter.

³ As Tyrrell says in his edition of the Letters, II, p. 135.

⁴ Boot, Müller.

⁵ Klotz.

⁶ Wesenberg.

⁷ T. Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic*, p. 67, and note 8 (hereafter to be referred to by his name alone), puts it admirably; see also Gilbert, III, p. 221.

⁸ See Tyrrell, *Correspondence of Cicero*, I, 2, p. 135; Jordan, I, 2, p. 394, and p. 395, note 113; Huelsen-Carter (1909), p. 16; Thédénat, p. 151; Gilbert, III, p. 222, note 1; Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, p. 85. It has even been postulated that there were two Aemilian basilicas side by side: Platner, Bunsen, III, p. 32.

The words of Miss Van Deman, p. 25, leave the reader in doubt as to what her understanding of the Latin is. "In 54 B.C. the curule aedile Aemilius Paullus Lepidus began according to Cicero a second restoration of this same basilica in addition to or in place of which, however, before its completion with money given him for this purpose by Julius Caesar, he built another which was much larger and more magnificent." If it was "in addition to" then the reference must be, I take it, to the Basilica Julia (because of her use of "larger" below), and yet in note 2, she is certain that both were on the north side of the Forum. This would commit her to the other alternative "in place of," which in my opinion is the correct interpretation.

improvements in the Forum towards the south. Since the letter itself mentions the immense amount of money available for civic improvements, the contrast would appear to be between the use of second-hand material and of the costliest new. Fortunately, we have other data to indicate what was suddenly making this magnificence possible.

Julius Caesar and Pompey had been becoming more and more estranged from each other, so that the death of Julia in 54 B.C. seems to have snapt the last of the ties that had bound them. It was very important to Caesar to win to his side or at least keep neutral one of the most powerful members of the *gens Aemilia*, L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, who, only a few years later, was to receive the highest office in the state as consul of B.C. 50. To buy him, indeed, cost the Dictator, we are told, fifteen hundred talents. The statement recorded by our informant Appian¹ reads as follows:

Παῦλον δὲ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων ἐπρίατο μηδὲν αὐτῷ μήτε συμπράττειν μήτε ἐνοχλεῖν. The historian then goes on to say that Caesar's expensive recruit invested the bribe in the construction of the basilica that bears his name² (doubtless, of course, in accordance with Caesar's own far-reaching architectural and topographical plans), dedicating an edifice of surpassing beauty, οἰκοδόμημα περικαλλές, to the use of his fellow citizens. From Plutarch we learn how this compact of concord, with its architectural pledge growing daily before his eyes, put the fear of Paullus in the heart of Pompey. Plutarch, *Caesar*, 29. 3: Παύλῳ δὲ ὑπατεύοντι χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα δόντος, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐκείνος, ὀνομαστὸν ἀνάθημα, τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσεκόσμησεν ἀντὶ τῆς Φουλβίας οἰκοδομηθεῖσαν οὕτω δὴ φοβηθεῖς τὴν σύστασιν ὁ Πομπήϊος κτλ.

At this point we must stress three things: although it is probable that the sum had been provided in instalments, by the time of Paullus' consulship in 50 B.C., a million and a half dollars had been available for the basilica; the work was no mere restoration of the Fulvia, such as the private purse of the builder had alone allowed, but a replacement of it (ἀντὶ τῆς Φουλβίας) with the magnificence that public funds made possible;³ that the transaction cemented a

¹ B.C., 2 (4) 26. Plutarch (*Pompey*, 58. 1, and *Caesar*, 29. 3) mentions the same amount, but he uses a less offensive verb, δόντος.

² Scholars who think that this was the time when it came to be called Basilica Aemilia (Jordan, I, 2, p. 393; Richter, p. 95) overlook the fact that it was already so termed on the coin of 65 B.C. As a matter of fact, Basilica Paulli seems to be the name favored by our ancient texts: Pliny, *N.H.*, 36. 102 (but in 35. 13 Basilica Aemilia); Tacitus, *Ann.*, 3. 72; *Curiosum Urbis* (Ulrichs, *Codex Urbis Romae Topographicus*), pp. 6, 7, 22, 23, Notitia R. IV; cf. Plut., *Caes.*, 29. 3; Appian, *B.C.*, 2 (4) 26; Dio. 49. 42. 2; 54. 24. 2. Plutarch's words ἀντὶ τῆς Φουλβίας indicate that Fulvia had hitherto been its appellative.

³ To this period I am rather inclined to date the columns which we still

concordia between Caesar and Paullus which Pompey dreaded and the Dictator had no doubt long planned.

Gilbert¹ has shown his usual acumen in recognizing that Cicero in writing to Atticus, who knew perfectly well where the original basilica was located, would never have used the term *in medio foro*, had there not been some special point to the adjective in a reference to the groundplan of the building which Paullus had begun with use of old material but could now complete on a grander scale, thanks to the godsend that came from Caesar. "Dass dabei der alte Bau näher an das Forum herangerückt werde, ersieht man aus den Worten *in medio foro*" are the topographer's words. But, in my opinion, he has not gone far enough: the building went not merely to the edge of the Forum, but, at least at one corner and perhaps at both, actually plunged into it. The coin of 65 B.C., if it pictures the front of the basilica,² represents nothing but an unbroken façade. The actual ruins demonstrate the presence at the eastern end of a projecting pavilion, that architectural excrescence, if I may call it so, which originally started us upon our investigation. There must have been some strongly compelling reason for an enlargement at this special point of the portico that fronts the line of rooms and brings the Basilica Aemilia, metaphorically, into the very Forum. That reason I venture to think I have discovered.

see in fragmentary state in the main building and which are probably those over which Pliny the Elder exclaimed (about 77 A.D.), using the very word *magnifica*, it will be noted, *N.H.*, 36. 102: non inter magnifica basilicam Pauli columnis e Phrygibus mirabilem forumque divi Augusti et templum Pacis Vespasiani Imp. Aug., pulcherrima operum quae umquam videt orbis? The fire of 14 B.C. may have been confined largely to the portico, as we shall see. But there has been much and perhaps futile debate about this, since, even if we know of the extent of a fire of two millennia ago, its precise effect upon various building-materials can hardly be deemed yet a determinable matter. Jordan thought that the columns that Pliny admired went back to the construction of 78 B.C., I, 2, p. 395, note 113 (cf. also p. 392), while noting that Becker attributed them to the restoration that followed the fire of 14 B.C. The latter is the date accepted by Gatteschi, *Bull. Com.*, XXVII (1899), p. 121, Thédenat, p. 140, and Van Deman, p. 26. On the other hand, Richter, conjectured B.C. 34, p. 95. Speaking of the columns, Huelsen, *Röm. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1902, p. 52, says: Sie trugen ein Gebälk aus weissen Marmor von trefflicher Arbeit, auf dessen Architrav die durch Brand stark beschädigten Reste ein Inschrift PAUL RESTI. . . . Huelsen, *Forum und Palatin*, p. 40, figures that this refers to the consul of 34 B.C.

¹ Gilbert, III, p. 221.

² If this is the one towards the Forum, we must think of the rooms that represent the *tabernae novae* of pre-basilican days, as lying close behind it. The original course of the *cloaca* left room for a portico of small width. However, the interpretation of such a tiny and partial reproduction as a *denarius* permits (Grueber, III, Pl. XLVI, 11. 12) is at best problematical. Compare T. L. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, p. 263, but not for his historical data! That there was a lack of porticos around the Forum at the time of Caesar's aedileship in 65 B.C. is evidenced by Suet., *Jul.*, 10: aedilis praeter Comitum ac Forum basilicasque etiam Capitolium ornavit porticibus ad tempus extractis in quibus abundante rerum copia pars apparatus exponeretur.

In the construction of a line of columns in a colonnade we can think of only two things which might necessitate a change in their alinement, one the presence of a man-made shrine¹ whose occupant, like Terminus in the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter, might resist eviction,² the other the existence of a god-marked spot the very nature of which made it non-transferable. Of the latter sort was any place in the earth which lightning had entered, what the Romans called a *fulguritum*. As everybody knows, the *fulgur* had to be *conditum*³ where it struck, with the sacrifice of a young sheep, *bidens*. Then, in order to prevent anybody from treading on this *locus religiosus*,⁴ an act that might result in the trespasser's going mad, if that be the correct inference from Horace (⁵ *utrum minxerit in patrios cineres an triste bidental moverit incestus: certe furit*) the *evitandum bidental*⁶ had to be fenced in. On the *puteal* or curbing of this *saeptum bidental*⁷ the *sacerdotes bidentales*,⁸ or other priests, might have inscribed the monitory words *fulgur conditum*.⁹

The enclosure was neither paved nor covered, and, even if it was located outside of a building, like the *puteal* of the *Lacus Curtius*¹⁰ or that of Navius¹¹ in the Comitium, it must have been a stumbling-block for traffic and an inevitable nuisance in any crowded area. If, on the other hand, the *puteal* had been included in some building of later construction, the roof would doubtless have to have a special aperture, in order that the religious prescription might be scrupulously observed.¹²

¹ Since we are actually discussing the Basilica Aemilia, one naturally thinks first of the awkward situation of the *Sacellum Cloacinae*, encroaching as it does, upon the very steps.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, 2. 669.

Terminus ut veteres memorant inventus in aede

Restitit et magno cum Iove templa tenet.

Nunc quoque se supra nequid nisi sidera cernat

Exiguum templi tecta foramen habent.

Serv., *ad Aen.*, 9. 446.

³ For the burial and the object buried see particularly Juvenal, 6. 587, and the Scholiast on it; Lucan, 1. 606; Schol. on Persius, 2. 26.

⁴ Schol. on Persius, II, 27: *bidental dicitur locus secundo percussus fulmine qui bidente ab aruspibus consecratur quem calcare nefas est*; compare further, Festus 92 M (Lindsay, 82. 8). The Greeks had the same ideas about a *τόπος κεραυνοπλήξ* (*C.G.L.*, II, 30. 8), as we learn from Artemidorus, 2. 9, and Pollux, 9. 41.

⁵ *Ars Poet.*, 470.

⁶ Persius, 2. 27.

⁷ Apollon. Sid., *Carm.*, 9. 194.

⁸ Compare for them, e.g., *C.I.L.*, VI, 567 and 568.

⁹ *C.I.L.*, VII, 3048: FVLGVR DIVOM CONDITVM. Compare 3047 and 3049, and, for other references to "lightning graves," C. Blinkenberg, *The Thunder-weapon in Religion and Folklore*, p. 110, a very interesting treatment of the subject.

¹⁰ Varro, *L.L.*, 5. 150: Cornelius et Lu(c)tatius scribunt eum locum esse fulguritum et ex s.c. septum esse: id quod factum est a Curtio consule cui M. Genucius fuit collega, Curtium appellatum.

¹¹ Cicero, *De Div.*, 1. 17. 33: *cotem autem illam et novaculam defossam in comitio supraque inpositum puteal accepimus.*

¹² It is notable that three of the inscriptions which concern the *collegium* of the

Now, nobody seems to have noticed that it was precisely at the time ¹ that Aemilius Paullus was encroaching upon the Forum with the magnificence of his immense basilica, 54 B.C., that L. Scribonius Libo, issued his well-known *denarii*,² picturing on the obverse the head of Bonus Eventus with the inscription BON EVENT and LIBO, and on the reverse a puteal, above which we read PVTEAL and, below, SCRIBON.³ If ever there were times when the most famous of all the *putealia*, the *Scribonianum*, might appropriately appear upon the coinage of Rome, one would be when its inclusion within the ground-plan of the great basilica had been required, as we expect to show, through its chance situation upon the line of the frontal colonnade of that building. The construction of a projecting pavilion with an opening in the roof might offend a future age of architects who had no faith in Jupiter, but would prevent offending the god of lightning in an age that did believe in the power of his vengeance. It was a way out of a difficulty that by the grace of Bonus Eventus⁴ promised a good issue. But, so far, one may say, this is only a pretty hypothesis. Fortunately, even numismatically, we can take it much further.

A colleague of Scribonius Libo on the board of three who were minting the money of 54 B.C. was no less a person than L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, son of the very Paullus, whom we find at this time engaged in building the Basilica Aemilia. He and Scribonius had, indeed, other close relationships. Thus, his wife Cornelia was daughter of his colleague's sister Scribonia, both of them famous women; for Scribonia became the wife of Octavian in 40 B.C., only to be divorced in 39, and Cornelia is celebrated in the well-known

Sacerdotes bidentales have to do with offerings made to Semo Sancus or Dius Fidius, whose shrine had to be open to the sky also, Varro, *L.L.*, 5. 66. When one swore by this deity or by Hercules (all three were probably the same, according to Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 138), he had to stand under the open sky, Nonius, 194; see also note 2, p. 164, Ovid, *Fasti.*, 2. 671.

¹ "With no axe to grind," Babelon chose (I, pp. XXXV, 81, 121 and II, p. 426) the date 54 B.C., while Grueber himself admits (I, p. 418, note 2) the great difficulty of accepting the earlier year proposed by Count de Salis, *i.e.*, B.C. 71, concerning which we find the just remark in Pauly, *s.v.* Scribonius Libo no. 20, p. 882, line 33: "was freilich für die Laufbahn Libos fast zu früh erscheint," *cf.* no. 82, *s.v.* Aemilius. Our other numismatists accept 54 B.C.: Mommsen, *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens*, p. 274, *Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine*, Trad. par Le Duc de Blacas, II, p. 498; Gneechi, *Monete Romane*, 3rd Edition, 1907, p. 190. Compare also Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, V, pp. 301-304.

² There is a restitution of this type by Trajan, Babelon, II, p. 584, no. 47.

³ Grueber, I, p. 419, nos. 3377-3382. Pauly, *s.v.* Scribonius, no. 16, thinks that L. Scribonius Libo, who was praetor peregrinus 204 B.C., was probably the man who built the original of the Puteal on the coin. But compare the dubiety of Mommsen, *Juristische Schriften*, Vol. III, p. 322.

⁴ Babelon's attempt (II, p. 427) to connect the appearance of this deity on the coins with some relationship of the family with Beneventum seems somewhat far-fetched. Compare Grueber, I, p. 419, note 2, who, however, has no suggestion to offer.

poem of Propertius 4. 11 as consoling her husband Paullus after her death.

In 34 B.C. this Paullus was consul suffectus and finished the basilica which his father had begun. In the same year Scribonius Libo, who had been his colleague in the mint in 54 B.C., was consul. But of more importance to our immediate problem is the relationship of these two moneyers to Julius Caesar and Pompey in the year that they were striking their *denarii*. Scribonius Libo seems to have been consistently a Pompeian,¹ so far as consistency was possible in that shifty age, when even men of character were forced at times "to sit on the fence" and to change sides suddenly. Libo was, indeed, the father-in-law of Sextus Pompey and was favoring Pompey the Great rather than Caesar as early as B.C. 56. The Aemilii, on the other hand, seem to have been politically less stable.²

The Paullus who was reconstructing the basilica in 54 B.C. makes his first appearance in Roman history as a partisan of the aristocratical party, as we know from his accusation of Catiline in 63 B.C. In 59 B.C. Vettius charged him with having been privy to a pretended conspiracy against Pompey.³ But in 57 B.C. we find him working to secure the recall of Cicero from banishment. If, as we may reasonably assume, he began his reconstruction of the family basilica as aedile in 55 B.C., he must have soon, if not at once, come into some coöperative arrangements with Julius Caesar; for Cicero's letter of 54 B.C. implies a general plan for the buildings around the Forum with which his work would have to be in harmony, and he was already receiving, no doubt, financial help from Caesar's spoils of war in Gaul,⁴ which made his attitude as consul in B.C. 50 seem to the historians the result of an enormous bribe. Such, at any rate, is the natural interpretation of that change from second-hand material to the costliest construction and of Cicero's reference to the stupendous sum that he and Oppius, as Caesar's friends, were willing to see disbursed upon the enlargement of the Forum, in accordance, we cannot doubt, with the Dictator's own scheme of city-improvement. Cicero's words are: *itaque Caesaris amici, me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet in* ⁵ *monumentum illud quod tu tollere laudibus solebas ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus contempsimus sescenties H S.* It cannot, therefore, seem

¹ Babelon, II, p. 426.

² For the vacillating career of the moneyer compare Babelon, I, p. 121.

³ The accusation deserved and received little credence, Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, p. 5; Heitland, *The Roman Republic*, §1073.

⁴ Heitland, *op. cit.*, §1189.

⁵ The *in* is introduced as an emendation; but Frank's proposal (p. 67) to consider *monumentum . . . solebas* as an apposition to *basilicam* in the earlier sentence may seem preferable.

without significance that Paullus' son,¹ the moneyer, should have selected for his coin-types not only one that recalled the great family-hero L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, the conqueror of Perseus in B.C. 168,² whose memorial, as we have seen, may have stood in the basilica, but also, in a joint-issue³ with Scribonius, that puteal which we think was being included in the new ground-plan, and, on the obverse side, the head of Concordia, with the inscription CONCORD added that there might be no doubt about the deity intended, and with the name PAVLLVS LEPIDVS that there might be no doubt, either, about the identity of the contracting party. This choice of Concordia and of the puteal has always defied interpretation by the numismatists, but I venture to see in the former the Aemilian family's public pledge of harmony with Julius Caesar and in the latter a symbol of the most radical change that the rebuilding of the Basilica Aemilia had brought into its construction, that projecting pavilion which housed the Puteal Libonis.

But even if an indulgent reader will grant that our hypothesis is now a little prettier, he may yet object that, after all, it is still only a hypothesis. It must be shown that the puteal Scribonianum was actually situated in the Basilica Aemilia. Scholars have already done something to prove this, but I hope to add my own little contribution. We must begin with a passage which is found much mutilated in Festus 333 M. We produce it in the form in which Lindsay (448. 33) thinks it may be safely emended: (Scribonianum ap]pellatur ante[a] atria [puteal, quod fecit Scri]bonius cui negotium da[tum a senatu fuerat, ut] conquireret sacella att[acta . . . pro]curavit quia in eo loco . . . sacellum fuit, quod igno . . . ut quidam, fulgur conditum, quod . . . [ne]fas est intagi: semper foramin[e . . . aper]to caelum patet. From this we learn how some member of the Scribonian *gens* had been commissioned to enclose this particular lightning-grave with the puteal. We learn, furthermore, that it was *ante (a) atria*. This phrase has defied all interpretation.⁴ It is, of course, quite impossible to take it as a reference to the Atrium Vestae.⁵ The name for the home of the Vestals appears in the plural only once and then as a poetical usage to facilitate the metre in Ovid, *Fasti*, 6. 263:

¹ We have already had a son memorializing on his *denarii* the building activities of his father in the case of the moneyer of B.C. 65. In both instances they are members of this glory-loving Aemilian family.

² Grueber, I, p. 418, 3373-3376 and note 3.

³ Grueber, I, p. 420, 3383-3385.

⁴ Thédénat, p. 147: à un endroit que Festus désigne par l'expression peu claire pour nous *ante atria*. Jordan, I, 2, p. 403, note 121.

⁵ This Piganiol did, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, XXVIII (1908), p. 263; compare Gilbert, I, p. 305.

Hic locus exiguus qui sustinet Atria Vestae
Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae.

Of course, it might seem easiest to conclude that the phrase is corrupt, since the passage in Festus is, as a whole, in such bad condition. But I am rather inclined to believe that *atria* is a name that may have been sometimes given to that series of rooms which lie behind the frontal portico. If the *puteal Scribonianum* was where we think it was in that corner pavilion, *ante atria* would be a possible description to localize it. *Atrium*, is, indeed, a very difficult word to define in all its uses. The shift of meaning from that of the central apartment of the front part of a house, such as we find so commonly at Pompeii, to a mere vestibule is, of course, familiar. The word is particularly troublesome when it is used in connection with a colonnade or *porticus*.¹

We may take our start from that *Atrium Maenianum* which Cato bought, along with an *Atrium Titium* and various shops, *tabernae*, in order that he might build his Basilica Porcia. From a combination of various passages² it appears that this *atrium* of Maenius was much like the other places of business around the Forum except that its roof of beams and planks extended out on to the columns that stood across the front, so that from the second-story gallery that was thus constituted privileged spectators could view gladiatorial games in the area below to great advantage. This was also a desirable construction for the rows of shops about a forum, because it provided shade for prospective customers in the heat of summer and shelter during the rainy season. We can perhaps picture the *tabernae novae*, which were eventually incorporated into the Basilica Aemilia, as having this architecture. The term *atria* was especially used for

¹ I have in mind, for instance, the *atriolum* appearing as an apartment connected with a *porticus* in Cicero, *Q. Fr.*, 3. 1. 1, 2 (which was discussed by Magoun, *Tr. and Pr. of A. P. A.*, 1896, pp. vii f.), and I might cite also such vagaries as Schol. on Luc., 2. 238: (Weber) *atrium* proprie dicitur ab atro, i. nigro, quod proprie est porticus illa ante templa ubi comburebantur quae remanebant.

² Pseudo-Ascon. in Cic., *Div. in Verr.*, 16. 50 (Stangl, p. 20, 15-19) ad columnam Maenianam. Maenius cum domum suam venderet Catoni et Flacco censoribus ut ibi basilica aedificaretur, exceperat ius sibi unius columnae super quam tectum proiceret ex provolantibus tabulatis unde ipse et posteri eius spectare munus gladiatorium possent, quod etiam tum in foro dabatur. Ex illo igitur columna Maenia vocitata est. Compare Porphyr. on Hor., *Sat.*, 1. 3. 21; Lucil., 1203 (Marx, p. 82), but especially Festus, 134 M=Linds., 120. 1: Maeniana appellata sunt a Maenio censore qui primus in foro ultra columnas tigna proiecit quo ampliarentur superiora spectacula; Isidore, 15. 3. 11. Terraces and galleries above a first-story colonnade were common enough. Cicero, *Acad.*, 2. 22. 70: itaque cessit et ut ii qui sub novis solem non ferunt, item ille, cum aestuaret Veterum, ut Maenianorum, sic Academicorum umbram secutus est. Vitruvius (5. 1. 1-2), writing between 20-11 B.C., had good examples in the basilicas of the Forum. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, 35. 10. 113.

the halls of the auctioneers,¹ but those down by the Tiber that Ovid² mentions may have served other business purposes: Fluminis ad flexum veniunt—Tiberina priores atria dixerunt—unde sinister abit.

If we may conclude, then, that the row of large rooms, replacing an earlier series of smaller size,³ and constituting architecturally⁴ the back of the portico⁵ which forms the front of the Basilica Aemilia, as the excavations have revealed it, were sometimes termed *atria*,⁶ we have found an explanation for the term which Festus used in defining the location of the *puteal*.

Furthermore, we are now able for the first time, I think, to give a precise interpretation to a passage in Ovid's *Amores*, 1. 13. 19, which, indeed, the topographers have not used in any of these problems:

atque eadem sponsum multos ante atria mittis
unius ut verbi grandia damna ferant,

"You, Aurora, send many persons as sponsors before the *atria* to undergo great losses through a single word." He is referring to the praetor's court which was held at the Puteal Libonis. The passages which prove this are such an important support incidentally to our location of the puteal at this point in the Forum that they deserve extended treatment. Of course the earlier praetorian tribunal in the

¹ Thus we read in Cicero, *De Lege Agr.*, 1. 3. 7: at hoc etiam nequissimi homines consumptis patrimoniis faciunt ut in atriis auctionarii potiusquam in triviis aut in compitis auctionentur; *Pro Quinctio*, 6. 25: tum Naevius pueros circum amicos dimittit, ipse seros necessarios ab atriis Liciniis et a faucibus Macelli corrogat ut ad tabulam Sextiam sibi adsint hora secunda postridie; *Pro Quinctio*, 3. 12: tollitur ab atriis Liciniis atque a praeconum consessu in Galliam Naevius. One is mentioned also in an inscription of Superaequum, Orelli, 3439-3883, *C.I.L.*, IX, 3307: ex testamento atrium auctionarium fieri, and probably also in one from Portu, *C.I.L.*, XIV, 1941 (on a sort of puteal), atrium cum quadriporticum, etc. Then Juvenal, 7. 7: vallibus esuriens migraret in atria Clio, where the Thesaurus interprets the *atria* as auctionaria (so, too, the commentators, e.g., Friedländer, Lewis, Mayor).

² *Fasti*, 4. 329.

³ Determination of the chronology of these tufa walls must rest with the experts in building materials. Miss Van Deman, *A.J.A.*, XVII (1913), Pl. 1, assigns the earlier ones to the work of B.C. 54 (see p. 26), the later to the restoration after the fire of 14 B.C. (p. 26), while T. Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic*, dates the former (p. 10) in 78 B.C., the latter (p. 68) in 34.

⁴ Compare Huelsen, *Röm. Mitt.*, XVII (1902), p. 50, note 1. He quotes Lanciani in agreement. See also, more recently, Miss Van Deman, p. 20.

⁵ The arrangement of the places of business behind the colonnade of the basilica reminds one of the long series of similar rooms around the Piazzale delle Corporazioni at Ostia, where, to be sure, they were apparently called *stationes*, as a rule; see Calze, *Bull. Com.*, 1916, p. 192, where he argues against *scholae* as the name.

⁶ Scholars have been much puzzled by mention of the Atrium Sutorium as the place where on March 23, every year, the *tubae* were purified: Cal. Pr., *C.I.L.*, I, p. 315 = Orelli, II, 386; Varro, *L.L.*, 6. 14; Festus, 325 M = Lindsay, 480. 25. It is at least conceivable that since the Argiletum, which ran along the western end of the Basilica Aemilia, was the "shoe district" of Rome (Martial, 2. 17. 3), one of the *atria* of the basilica belonged to the *sutores*.

comitium continued to exist, but new ones had been necessitated by the increase in judicial business, and, if we may trust our ancient authorities, it was no other than a Scribonius Libo who first constructed the necessary platform and benches at the Puteal to serve for the court. Horace¹ had said: *forum putealque Libonis mandabo siccis, adimam cantare severis*. Porphyrio's comment² on this is definite enough: *per puteal praetorem ac iudicem significat. Puteal autem Libonis sedes praetoris fuit prope arcum Fabianum dictum quod a Libone illic primum tribunal et subsellia collocata sint*.

Some³ have imagined, but with small probability I fear, that it was Scribonius the moneyer of B.C. 54 who built the tribunal near the puteal. That would account for the choice of the Scribonianum as his coin-type as well as for the notable innovation of including the once free-standing curb within the ground-plan of the Basilica Aemilia as Paullus was reconstructing it.

Porphyrio's note throws light on other passages in Horace. In *Sat.*, 2. 6. 33, he says: *ante secundam Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras*, on which we have the comment, Pseudo-Acro: *Locus Romae ad quem conveniebant feneratores. Alii dicunt: in quo tribunal solebat esse praetoris (erat autem in Rostris)*. It was perhaps before the praetor here that the bore was bound to appear in our poet's famous experience; Horace, *S.*, 1. 9. 35:

*ventum erat ad Vestae quarta iam parte diei
praeterita; et casu tunc respondere vadato
debebat quod ni fecisset perdere litem.
Si me amas, inquit, paulum hic ades. inteream si
aut valeo stare aut novi civilia iura.*

If Cicero spoke there, he might aptly enough use the language that he employs in his letter to his brother *ad Fr.* 2. 3: *dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud praetorem Cn. Domitium in foro medio*. As a matter of fact, Puteal and Tribunal practically became synonyms in popular parlance.⁴ Janus and the Puteal (at least as the haunt of usurers), at or near opposite ends of the Basilica Aemilia, were places to be feared by persons in financial difficulties. Ovid, *Rem.*, 561:

*Qui Puteal Ianumque timet celeresque Kalendas
Torqueat hunc aeris mutua summa sui.*

¹ *Ep.*, 1. 19. 8.

² See also Cruq. on Hor., *Ep.*, 1. 19. 8; Pseudo-Acro on Hor., *S.*, 2. 6. 33.

³ Daremberg et Saglio, *s.v.* Forum, p. 1303. But compare the possibility that it was L. Scribonius Libo, the praetor peregrinus of 204 B.C.; Pauly, *s.v.* Scribonius (Libo), p. 830, and note the authority of Porphyrio.

⁴ For this statement see particularly Mommsen, *Juristische Schriften*, III, pp. 323-324 (=394).

For this passage there are companion-pieces in Persius, 4. 48.

amarum

Si puteal multa cautus vibice flagellas

(where the Scholiast makes clear that the Scribonianum is intended), and in Cicero *Pro Sext.*, 8. 18: (B.C. 56) alter unguentis affluens, calamistrata coma, despiciens conscios stuprorum ac veteres vexatores aetatae suae, puteali et faenatorum gregibus inflatus, a quibus compulsus olim ne in Scyllaeo illo aeris alieni tamquam (in) fretu ad columnam adhaeresceret, in tribunatus portum perfrugerat. Compare on Janus Hor., *Sat.*, 2. 3. 18.

As for the actual construction of the necessarily small tribunal at or around the Scribonianum, we are left largely to conjecture. In spite of the round puteal, found at Veii (Benndorf und Schöne, *Die Antiken Bildwerke des Lateranensischen Museums*, p. 307, no. 440), which may be a partial reproduction of the Scribonianum,¹ a good argument can be made for the theory that the latter was rectangular.² The tribunal may have been a steep platform with accommodation on it for the praetor and others, although our portly Horace feared that he would have to stand. In times of riot when barricades or firewood were needed, the benches, tables and other furniture of the praetors' courts were so readily available that we must conclude that places for trials were anything but stable.³ We hear of a *tribunal Aurelium* which is likely to have been the same as the *gradus Aurelii*.⁴ These steps might be so packed by a clever litigant with noisy partisans as to incapacitate his opponent; witness, the experience described by Cicero in his *Pro Cluentio*, 34. 93.

But the course of our argument as well as chronology requires us to continue now our history of the basilica. In 34 B.C., according to Dio Cassius (49, 42), the consul L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, *i.e.*, the moneyer of B.C. 54, brought to completion at his own expense and dedicated τὴν στοάν τὴν Παύλου καλουμένην,⁵ Paullus of the Greek

¹ Scholars are not in agreement about this; see Thédénat, p. 148; De Ruggiero, p. 72.

² Grueber, I, p. 419. For a comparison of the representations see Huelsen, *Forum und Palatin*, Abb. 17.

³ For cremations we may compare Asconius, in *Milonianam* 34 (Clodius); Suet., *Caes.*, 84. 3, Plut., *Caes.*, 68. 1 (Julius Caesar); for riotous proceedings, Cic., in *Vatin.*, 9. 21. The best representation of a steep tribunal known to me is on a large bronze of Nero's coinage, W. Froehner, *Les médailles de l'Emp. Rom.* p. 14, 77.

⁴ Jordan, I, 2, p. 405, note 123. Its degree of proximity to our Puteal Libonis is hardly to be determined. Huelsen, *I più recenti Scavi nel Foro Romano, appendice all' opera Il Foro Romano* (1905), p. 28: accanto al puteal era situato un tribunale (tribunal Aurelium), etc.; see De Ruggiero, pp. 72-73; Platner, *Topography of Rome*, p. 270; De Witt, *Class. Phil.* XXI, 1926, pp. 221-222; and, best of all, Harriet D. Johnson, *The Roman Tribunal*, Johns Hopkins Diss.

⁵ καὶ τὴν στοάν τὴν Παύλου καλουμένην Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος Παῦλος ἰδίοις τέλεσεν ἐξφοδόμῃσε.

being, of course, his father, who as aedile had begun work on the basilica in 55 B.C. Although the use of the term *στοά* is somewhat loose¹ and it is conceivable that Dio means by it the entire basilica, it seems likely that he is specifying the completion of the portico on the side towards the Forum. Even at a much later date, we seem to have a feeling that the Basilica Aemilia was, in a way, a plurality of monuments. Thus, under date of 22 A.D., we read in Tacitus, *Ann.*, 3. 72: isdem diebus M. Lepidus ab senatu petivit ut basilicam Pauli, Aemilia monumenta, propria pecunia firmaret ornaretque, where the strengthener and embellisher of the building is the son of the Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, who had finished and dedicated the *στοά* in B.C. 34.

In the choice of that particular verb *firmaret*, I might say, incidentally, I think that I have found at last a solution for the puzzling anonymity of a passage in Dio Cassius, who is speaking apparently of A.D. 23, 57. 21. 5: κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ στοὰ μερίστη ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐπειδὴ ἑτεροκλινῆς ἐγένετο, θαυμαστὸν δὴ τινα τρόπον ὠρθώθη. The historian is referring to the Basilica Aemilia, or perhaps specifically to its portico, and its evil plight is more likely to have been due to an earthquake or to subsidence of the ever treacherous soil of the Forum region than to a fire.²

Our next notice is to be dated a score of years later. In 14 B.C. according to Dio Cassius,³ ἡ τε στοὰ ἡ Παύλειος ἐκαύθη, where, I take it, the historian may again be referring specifically to the portico. The flames spread to the Temple of Vesta.⁴ Although the amount of destruction wrought by such conflagrations among edifices so largely constructed of fire-proof materials must ever be

κάν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ καθιέρωσεν· ὑπάτευσε γὰρ ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους τούτου, where the choice of ἐξφοδόμῃσιν indicates that he was bringing to a finish work that his father had commenced: "It is the ground-plan of this structure which modern excavators have laid bare," according to the belief of T. Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic*, p. 67. On p. 74 he says, "To the repairs of 54 casually mentioned by Cicero as quickly abandoned, we cannot assign any material now *in situ*."

¹ Latin, also, confuses *basilica* and *porticus*; see Gilbert, III, p. 256, and note 3. Of course, Greek of the imperial age can differentiate between *στοά* and *βασιλική*; compare, for example, Plut., *Publicola*, 15. 5: εἰ μίαν εἶδεν ἐν οἰκίᾳ Δομετιανοῦ στοὰν ἢ βασιλικήν ἢ βαλανείον ἢ παλλακίδων δαίταν κτλ, where, however, the *basilica* is of a somewhat different type. But Dio uses *στοά* for *porticus* elsewhere: 68. 10. 2 ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ Διονίᾳ; 53. 27. 1: τὴν στοὰν τὴν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ὀνομασμένην (of the Porticus Argonautarum); 49. 43. 8: τὰς τε στοὰς . . . τὰς Ὀκταονιανὰς (of the Porticus Octaviae); 55. 8. 4: ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ στοὰ (of the Porticus Vipsania) and an unnamed *porticus*, 57. 21. 5. Upon the separableness of portico and basilica, one might cite various passages, e.g., in *C.I.L.*, VIII, 794; 7037; IX, 2557; XI, 3614. 11; XII, 2533.

² Gilbert (III, p. 221, note 3) suggested that a fire may have been responsible. Dio's whole account deserves perusal by those who are interested in ancient methods of restoring old buildings.

³ 54. 24. 2.

⁴ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ Ἑστιαῖον ἀφίκετο.

somewhat puzzling, it may have been not only the wooden roofs and ceilings but also the *subsellia* and other furnishings of wood at the projecting corner, where we have located the sessions of the court, that were chiefly responsible for the ignition of such a structure as the Temple of Vesta, far removed though it was from the basilica and itself difficult to set on fire.¹ But the material glories of the Aemilian family were not to be allowed to remain in their fallen state. The building rose again, restored nominally by an Aemilius but actually through the financing of Augustus and the friends of Paullus.² Literature gives us no clue as to when this restoration was effected, but among the ruins we still see some huge blocks, beautifully engraved with a dated inscription, lying where they fell³ and precisely where we have tried to prove that the *puteal*⁴ and the tribunal were once situated. A study of its contents and their implications will enable us to round out our argument.

According to what is surely the original text L. CAESARI AVGVSTI F DIVI N PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS COS DESIG CVM ESSET ANN NAT XIII AVG SENATVS, the inscription⁵ was cut in 2 B.C. by senatorial decree in honor of Lucius Caesar, when, although he was only fourteen years of age, he was *consul designatus* and *augur*. Although the tribute to Lucius may once have had a companion-piece in honor of his brother Gaius, and we may associate with this epigraph others concerned with the brothers which were found nearby,⁶ and there is now set up near them a beautifully cut inscription in honor of Augustus, which was found in mediaeval constructions at the other end of the ruins of the basilica,⁷ yet we cannot safely assume that they all belonged to some separate monument in honor of the Augustan family that once stood in

¹ Of course, we must recognize that the rescue of the sacred objects does not necessarily mean that the building was burned down.

² Dio Cassius, 54. 24. 3: ἡ μὲν οὖν στοὰ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀνόματι μὲν ὑπ' Αἰμίλιου, ἐς δὲ τὸ τοῦ ποιήσαντός ποτε αὐτὴν γένος ἐληλύθει, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Παύλου φίλων ἀνικοδομήθη.

³ After many examinations of the position of these pieces I can see small likelihood that they were merely assembled here for burning in a lime-kiln. They are very heavy and there is a certain matching of the fragments that would be explicable upon the theory of a fall. Yet compare for a contrary view Lanciani, *Bull. Com.*, 1899, p. 190.

⁴ While *puteal* is, of course, the proper term for a well-curb and in the case of a spring it might partake of a sacred character, as exemplified by the Puteal Iuturnae (D. S., s.v. Puteal, p. 779), the identification of the well at the southeast corner of the ruins of the Basilica Aemilia as the Scribonianum is quite impossible. Miss Van Deman (pp. 24 and 27) ignores entirely what was unquestionably the character of the Scribonianum, as we have shown above, and we find a similar error in Huelsen, *Forum und Palatin*, p. 41.

⁵ A useful picture of the fragments, photographed from above, is to be found in the *Bull. Com.*, XXXI (1903) p. 84, fig. 38.

⁶ *Röm. Mitt.*, XIV (1899), pp. 260-261.

⁷ Huelsen, *Röm. Mitt.*, XX (1905), p. 60; *Forum und Palatin*, p. 40.

front of the Temple of Divus Julius.¹ In the first place, there is no literary record of what would have been a most important memorial. Again, a position in front of a building that had a rostra² from which orators addressed the crowd would be most inappropriate. We must rather direct our investigation along other lines. Long ago Gatteschi³ conjectured that Augustus not only made the restoration of the basilica financially possible, but gratified his well-known passion⁴ for honoring his grandsons Gaius and Lucius by inscribing with their names the portico that had just been rebuilt along the Forum side. The exquisitely engraved blocks to which we have referred would then be a part of that tribute. The date is B.C. 2.

But I am rather inclined to query this theory of Gatteschi. The *στοά* of the basilica continued to be called by the name of Paullus,⁵ and the broken inscription obviously lies precisely where it fell in that projecting pavilion that inspired this investigation. This was not where the portico of the basilica, as a portico, would display its honorary title, but rather somewhere in the middle,⁶ and one need not be an architect to see, after viewing the surviving fragments of its entablature, that the memorial to Lucius would have no structural fitness there. It seems safer to assume that the Julian porch that was dedicated to the Julii Gaius and Lucius⁷ was, in a way, an architectural unit, namely that projecting structure itself⁸ which had taken the place of a similar one which the fire of 14 B.C. destroyed.

¹ This theory was advanced by Richter, p. 361, Huelsen, *Röm. Mitt.*, XX (1905), p. 61.

² Suet., *Aug.*, 100; cf. Dio, 56. 34.

³ *Bull. Com.*, XXVII (1899), p. 120. Compare Vaglieri, *Bull. Com.*, XXXI (1903), p. 87, note. Thédenat, p. 143, and Miss Van Deman make no reference to this earlier work. The view is also referred to by E. Burton Brown, *Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum*, p. 142.

⁴ So we have his statement in the *Mon. Ancy.*, 20: Forum Iulium et basilicam quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni coepta profligataque opera a patre meo perfeci et eandem basilicam consumptam incendio ampliatio eius solo sub titulo nominis filiorum meorum incohavi et si vivus non perfecissem perfici ab heredibus iussi. Compare also Suet., *Aug.*, 29. 4.

⁵ It seems to be this same Dio's name for it in his own day; compare the present participle 49. 42. 2 (cf. 54. 24. 2 and 3). If, indeed, such an important element of the basilica as the entire portico on the Forum side had borne the separate name of Julia, one might expect it to have been so specified in such passages as the one in Plutarch's *Galba*, 26. 3, where the horsemen as well as infantry seem to have charged into the Forum through it.

⁶ The hypothesis has been advanced that our pavilion or porch was a sacellum to Lucius to which there was another corresponding to it at the southwest end of the basilica in honor of Gaius.

⁷ Compare, however, Richter, p. 361; see, too, Huelsen, *Forum und Palatin*, p. 40.

⁸ I came to this conclusion independently of what seems to be the same view in Huelsen's new book, *Forum und Palatin*, p. 40. 'Die Osthalle wurde von diesem Denkmal der Kaiserdynastie gelegentlich Porticus Julia genannt. I am, however, rather inclined to believe that Julia was its regular name.

The Aemilians had not only built and rebuilt the basilica through so many generations but had also undoubtedly appropriated as much as possible of its halls and ambulatories for memorials glorifying their family. If Augustus was to receive anything in return for his money in the way of a monument to his own, he would have to have recourse to something as separable as this little porticus Julia. Thédenat¹ believed that it was the memorial to Gaius and Lucius that Ovid² had in mind, when he speaks of the *templa* of the brothers whom their grandfather Julius Caesar could see (metaphorically, at least) in sculptured form from his high temple just across the street:

Quem pia vobiscum proles comitavit ovantem,
Digna parente suo nominibusque datis
Fratribus adsimilis quos proxima templa tenentes
Divus ab excelsa Julius aede videt.

But I am afraid that his *templa* must refer to the one which housed those more famous brothers, Castor and Pollux.

Huelsen thought³ that in this Porticus Julia we may have the Chalcidicum to which Vitruvius refers in the following passage (5. 14): *sin autem locus erit amplior in longitudine chalcidica in extremis constituentur uti sunt in Julia Aquiliana*, where he would change Aquiliana to Aemiliana.⁴ This theory perhaps implies that there was a similar structural element at the other end of the Basilica Aemilia. But we can hardly say that the spatial conditions on this north side of the Forum were like those prescribed by Vitruvius. A good example of a chalcidicum seems rather to be that ante-room which ends the Basilica of Maxentius on the east.⁵

We have now brought the history of the Basilica Aemilia down to about the beginning of the Christian era. Under date of 12 A.D. we find the following in Dio Cassius, 56. 27. 5: ἡ τε στοὰ ἡ Ἰουλίας⁶ καλουμένη ὠκοδομήθη τε ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ τε Γαίου καὶ τοῦ Λουκίου τῶν Καيسάρων καὶ τότε καθιερώθη. At first thought, one might be tempted to take this chronicle of Dio as a reference to our *porticus*

¹ Thédenat, p. 143.

² *Ex Ponto*, 2. 2. 81.

³ See *Röm. Mitt.*, VIII (1893), p. 282.

⁴ It is usual to insert *et* between the adjectives, as Reber proposed.

⁵ Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, II, p. 226. For a basilica with a chalcidicum at both ends see Guhl and Koner, p. 417, fig. 429.

⁶ Here the emendation of *Ιουία* of the manuscript tradition to *Ἰουλία* by Merkel (on Ovid, *Fasti*, p. 141) is certain: Jordan, III, p. 315, note 77. There was, to be sure, a Porticus Liviae at Rome, built by Vedius Pollio and dedicated in 7 B.C., but it cannot come into consideration here, nor, are we concerned in our investigation with the porticus deorum (Gatti, *Bull. Com.*, XXVII (1899), p. 142; Borsari, *Bull. Com.*, XIII (1885), pp. 87-88), nor with the porch of the temple of Divus Julius (Jordan, *Hermes*, VII (1873), p. 285; Nichols, *The Roman Forum*, p. 129).

Julia. But, unfortunately for such an hypothesis, that inscription to Lucius belongs fourteen years before, and it is reasonable to think that the restorations of the Basilica Aemilia after the fire of 14 B.C. date at least that far back. We must rather refer the passage to the basilica on the other side of the Forum, the Julia, which Jerome tells us ¹ was dedicated in 46 B.C. It was then, however, destroyed by fire and it devolved on Augustus to rebuild it.² As we have already noted, there is often a certain separableness in a basilica and its porticus, and so we have in Suetonius' reference (*Aug.* 29. 4) the coördination of those words by a *que*: *quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque fecit ut porticum basilicamque Gai et Luci, item porticus Liviae et Octaviae theatrumque Marcelli*, and in our passage of Dio an allusion to the dedication of the portico to the brothers. At the time to which he refers the main basilica had yet to be completed. For both of them together, the terminology that was to prevail was the original one; it was much easier to say Basilica Julia.

If, now, we have the porticus Julia of the Basilica Aemilia surely located, we have also definite knowledge of where the Puteal Libonis lay; for we read in the Scholiast on Persius, 4. 49: *faenatores ad puteal Scribonii Libonis, quod est in porticu Julia ad Fabianum arcum, consistere solebant*.³ That further information, however, that this was near the arcus Fabianus provides but an elusive landmark; for our ancient authorities ⁴ resort to points of definition that might put that monument at either the northeast or the southeast corner of the Forum, locating thereby the beginning of the Sacra Via at whichever site it stood. But, fortunately for our thesis, the fragments of its blocks were actually found in modern times nearer the temple of Faustina than the temple of Vesta;⁵ Ligorio seems to

¹ Hieron., *Chron.*, a. Abr. 1971. Dio, 43. 22.

² We have the evidence in his *Res Gestae*, i.e., *The Monumentum Ancyranum*, 20: quoted in note 4, p. 174.

³ We might note here that in Urlichs, *Codex Urbis Romae Topographicus*, p. 38, P. Victor, *Regio VIII Forum Romanum*, there is a disorderly list, but we have this succession: Ludus Aemilius (which probably stands for the Basilica Aemilia), Julia porticus (which Urlichs assumes is the Basilica Julia), Arcus Fabianus Puteal Libonis. *Iam duo celebris mercator locus. Regia Numae . . . Basilica Pauli cum Phrygiis columnis.*

⁴ Compare, e.g., Ps. Ascon. in *Verr.*, 1. 19. 133 (Stangl, p. 211. 17) ad ipsum fornecem Fabianum. *Fornix Fabianus arcus est iuxta Regiam in Sacra Via; Pollio, Vita Salonina*, 1: fuit statua in pede montis Romulei, hoc est ante sacram viam inter templum Faustinae ac Vestam (mss. intra templum Faustinae adventam) ad arcum Fabianum. Schol. Gronov. B. (Stangl., p. 336, line 22) in *Act. I in C. Verrem*, 19: ad ipsum fornecem Fabianum Arcus est prope Vestam, etc. Schol. Gronov. C. (Stangl., p. 350, line 4) in *Act. I in C. Verrem*, 19: vidit ad ipsum fornecem Fabianum Sacram ingredientibus viam post templum Castoris, etc.

⁵ Jordan, I, 2, p. 210, note 44. On the 16th century witnesses to the site of the Fornix consult Richter, *Die Augustusbauten auf dem Forum Romanum*, *Jb. Arch. Inst.*, IV (1899), p. 149. Marliani, *Urbis Romae Topographia*, p. 42: arcum

have seen its remains on that side of the temple of Divus Julius before they were dissipated;¹ and the place where it stood appears to be definitely indicated by tufa blocks² forming part of the pavement between the temple of Divus Julius and the very projection of the basilica that we have long been discussing, nor is it perhaps undeserving of note that it was about the time that we think the Puteal Libonis was first included within the groundplan of the Basilica Aemilia that the Fornix Fabianus itself was undergoing restorations³ by one of the Fabii, curule aedile in 56 B.C.

This rounds out our argument, but we should perhaps finally consider the possibility that, matching our *porticus* at the eastern end of the Basilica Aemilia, was another at the western, either constituting a special shrine of honor for Gaius,⁴ or including, on another theory,⁵ the famous little temple of Janus. In the latter case, we should have another instance of an irremovable shrine included in a later structure and in either case we should have that symmetry which we rather look for in an ancient building.

Unfortunately, the vicissitudes of time have left the actual remains of the west end of the basilica in such a state as to defy a decision based upon them alone. Countless discussions have been written upon the location of the two-faced deity⁶ and we have, of

Fabianum apud hoc templum (Antonini et Faustinae) stetisse asserit Tremellius cuius reliquias proximis annis vidimus effodi . . . in quo fuerant scuta et signa eius victoriae Fabricius, *Roma*, p. 138 (1150): arcus Fabii in sacra via, cuius fundamenta, cum in urbe essemus, effodi dicebantur prope S. Laurentium in Miranda; in eo scuta et signa victoriae fuerunt sculpta.

¹ Van Deman, *Journal of Roman Studies*, XII (1922) pp. 27-28.

² This appears on Miss Van Deman's plan, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1922, fig. 1. If the arch stood here, the preposition *ad* localizing the *puteal* with relation to it, would certainly put it inside the *porticus*.

³ *C.I.L.*, I, 606, p. 178; cf. VI, 1303. L. Aemilius Paulus, the victor at Pydna, seems to have had one of the *elogia*. On the Fornix see *Not. d. Scav.*, 1882, pp. 222 ff.; *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds Sechzigstem Geburtstage*, pp. 423-430.

⁴ So Thédenat conjectured pp. 143 and 355, marking their aedicula on his plan, fig. 52, p. 253, as 5 and 7. But he, of course, believed that the whole stretch of *στωά* along the Forum constituted their monument.

⁵ This was suggested by Lanciani long ago, *Bull. Com.*, XXVIII (1900), p. 7. See especially the excellent guide of Lugli, *La Zona Archeologica di Roma*, p. 69, and C. on his Tav. IV.

⁶ The very plurality of the Iani has added to the difficulties; see a useful exposition in Nichols, *The Roman Forum*, p. 240. We may cite Porphyrio on Hor., *Ep.*, 1. 1. 53: *ad Ianos eos qui sunt in regione basilicae Pauli feneratores consistunt*; Pseudo-Acro on the same: *duo Iani ante basilicam Pauli steterunt ubi erant loca feneratorum*; Pseudo-Acro, Hor., *Sat.*, 2. 3. 18: *Ianus medius locus dictus prope basilicam Pauli ubi vasa aenea venumdabantur*; Porphy. Hor., *Ep.*, 1. 1. 54: *duo Iani ante basilicam Pauli steterunt ubi locus feneratorum*, and, finally, with a notable change in the preposition before the word for the basilica, Porphy. Hor., *Sat.*, 2. 3. 18: *quia omnes ad Ianum in basilica consistebant feneratores*. This is not at all inconsistent with the statement of Livy, 1. 19: *Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique facit*. The very persistency of *Ianus Medius* into a period when the Argiletum, to the west of the Basilica Aemilia, had been partially transformed into the Forum Nervae (*C.I.L.*, VI, 5845, 10027), is some

course, well-known ancient picturings of his sanctuary. Moreover, there have survived from the fifteenth century drawings that represent what was then to be seen at that western end of the basilica.¹ But none of the data at present available seem to me to point to a plausible conclusion. Suffice it, if we now have an acceptable reason for the construction of the jut at the other end, that southeast corner of the famous but still perplexing Basilica Aemilia.

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support for the theory that it was actually housed within the limits of that building. Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, 1. 257: hic ubi iuncta foris templa duobus habes.

¹ Huelsen, *Röm. Mitt.*, XX (1905), pp. 54-57, and most recently and conveniently in his *Forum und Palatin*, pp. 38-39, and Tafel 19 from *Monumenti Inediti*, Vol. XII. The dimensions seem so limited that the structure suggests use as a *sacellum*. The size indicated has, indeed, troubled scholars, who yet do not doubt that the west end of the basilica is the location; see, for instance, Huelsen, *Annali dell' Istituto di Corr. Arch.*, LVI (1884), p. 353. Of course, there is good evidence that the *aedicula* of Janus itself was small; Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, I, p. 248. See Ovid, *Fasti*, 1. 275 and, for the sixth century A.D., Procopius, *De Bello Goth.*, 1. 25. 19. The question whether the space in front of the Basilica Aemilia on the south side was regarded as a sort of street of Janus is hard to settle in the affirmative. See Richter, pp. 106-107, on the view of Bentley on Hor., *Ep.*, 1. 1. 54 f., accepted by Lanciani. Cf. *Bull. Com.*, XVII (1890), p. 98; Borsari, p. 224.

A METRICAL INSCRIPTION FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF EUTRESIS

WHILE excavating a large house which had been built on the site of the Hellenic cemetery lying along the road connecting the town of Eutresis with Thespias in ancient times, we found embedded at different points in the masonry of one of the walls, two inscribed stones. When joined they formed a metrical inscription in three hexameter lines (Fig. 1).

While the stone is broken off at the bottom and has suffered con-

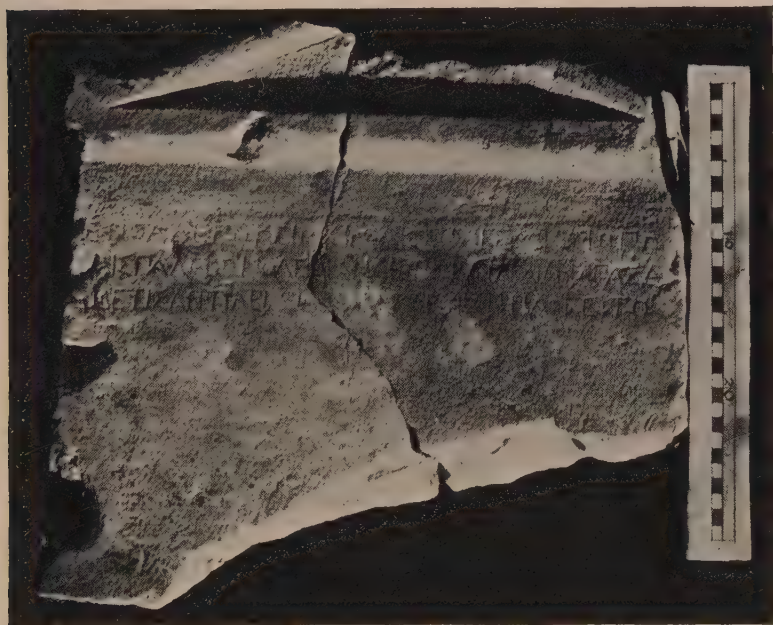


FIGURE 1. METRICAL INSCRIPTION FROM EUTRESIS

siderable damage at the left edge, the inscription itself is complete, although the surface is much worn in spots. It is a white marble block 0.10 m. thick surmounted by a simple pediment. It is preserved to a height of 0.235 m. at the right and 0.35 m. at the left edge. Before the verses were engraved on the stone the surface was picked all over, perhaps to remove an earlier inscription; for although no

actual letters could be made out, there are lines on the upper portion of the stone which can best be accounted for in this way. It is a very imperfect piece of marble, and the principal break seems to occur along the lines of an ancient flaw. The top of the pediment is broken off and there are minor injuries to the surface which can be seen in the photograph. The stele evidently tapered towards the top, for it measures 0.41 m. at the widest point and 0.40 m. directly under the pediment. The inscription (Fig. 2) is, with the exception of a few letters, fairly well cut, but the spacing and the size of the individual letters vary greatly. Their average height may be given as 0.01–0.012 m. The form of the letters suggests a date some time not far from the middle of the fourth century B.C. It is not surprising that these verses, which aim at an epic dignity, show only one Boeotian dialect form *ai* for *ei* in the third line.

The inscription reads as follows:

Ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ κείμει 'Ρόδως τὰ γέλοια σιωπῶ
 [K]αὶ σπαλάκων ὄλεθρον λείπω κατὰ γαῖαν ἅπασαν
 αἰ δέ τις ἀντιλέγει [κα]τάρας δεῦρ' ἀντιλογεῖτω

None of the readings is doubtful except that of the fourth and fifth words in the third line. The fifth letter of *ἀντιλέγει* looks more

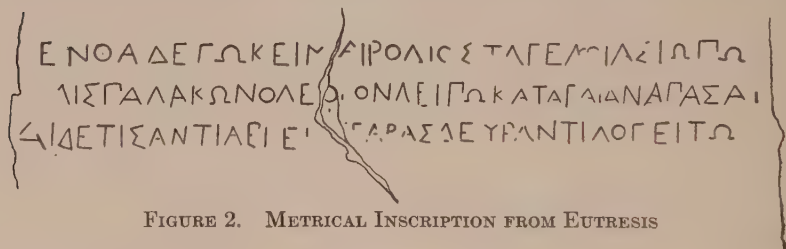


FIGURE 2. METRICAL INSCRIPTION FROM EUTRESIS

like an *α* than a *λ* in the photograph, although on the stone there is some indication that the apparent cross bar may be a break. Fortunately we need not remain long in doubt, for any reading with *α* is metrically impossible and *ἀντιλέγει* finds its echo in *ἀντιλογεῖτω*. Between the final *ι* of *ἀντιλέγει* and the *τ* of the next word, it is possible, if we take the closest spacing that the inscription shows at any point, to restore two letters reading *κατάρας*, which is not, I think, the “curses” familiar to us in inscriptions of this type, but the aorist participle of *καταίρω*.

To turn now to the contents of the inscription, we are dealing here with the amusing instance of a rustic wit, who can envisage his demise with more equanimity than the certainty that his reputation as a humorist is doomed to oblivion. To be eaten by ‘worms—bad

enough—but never again to raise a laugh among one's fellow townsmen nor tell a "tall" story, that is more than a man can endure. So Rhodios composes his own epitaph betimes, proclaiming with mock grandiloquence the loss the world will suffer when he, humorist and master mole-catcher, ceases his activities.

The inscription may be freely translated as follows, in verses which, I claim, do full justice to the awkwardness of the original:

Here I, Rhodios, lie, my jesting by silence o'ertaken.

Through the length and the breadth of the land I cease the destruction of moles
Would you gainsay me? swoop down, and here in person gainsay me.

It is pleasant after the opening formula which we are accustomed to recognize as the herald of so many lugubrious references to early death, unkind fate, and farewell to the light of day, to find our deceased in such truculent humor. Perhaps he was a colleague of the Boeotian who in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes comes to Athens to peddle his heterogeneous assortment of wares:

"I bring geese, hares, foxes, moles, hedgehogs, weasels, brocks, martens, otters
—Copaic eels."¹

The word ἀντιλέγει gains for us, perhaps, in humorous significance if we recall that it is used in solemn arbitration treaties in the sense of taking exception to a legal decision:² καὶ ἐπελθόντων ἐη' αὐτὰν τὰν χώραν τῶν δικαστῶν Καὶ κρινάν[των] Ἐπιδανρίων εἶμεν τὰν χώραν, ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων τῶι τερμονισμῶι, κτλ.

Instead of κατάρας a simple reading with δεῦρο would be καταβάς. The stone, as may be seen in the photograph, is worn smooth at this point, and the lower part of a β may well have disappeared, leaving what appears to be a ρ. Personally my choice is for the figure, which, in spite of the fading out of the original meaning that the word καταίρω gradually underwent,³ may still be sensed in the jaunty challenge, "Swoop down here to Hades you pestiferous bird who comes pecking at my reputation."

Whatever may have been in the mind of our friend Rhodios when he laboriously composed his hexameters, I venture to say he little dreamed that he would one day earn the gratitude of an archaeologist, delighted to find upon a tombstone, a sly summons to mirth instead of the eternal invitation to shed tears.

HETTY GOLDMAN

ATHENS

¹ *Acharnians* 878, translation of W. J. M. Starkie.

² Dittenberger *Sylloge* ³.

³ Plato, *Hippias Major* 281A: Ἰππίας ὁ καλὸς καὶ σοφός, ὡς διὰ χρόνου ἡμῖν κατῆρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS¹

SUMMARIES OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES CHIEFLY IN CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

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PREHISTORIC, ORIENTAL, AND CLASSICAL EGYPT

The Pre-History of Egyptian Culture.—In *Archaeologiai Értésítő*, New Series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 1-10, F. CALICE gives a résumé of the theories regarding the history of Egyptian culture, the interrelations of Egypt and Babylonia, the relations of Egyptian, Hamitic, and Semitic languages, and the possibilities of a Western and Mediterranean influence on the development of the country, especially in the development of agriculture. The article is really a survey of the situation rather than a distinct contribution.

Two Ptolemaic Coin Hoards.—EDWARD T. NEWELL publishes in *Num. Notes*, No. 33 (34 pp.; 3 pls.) an account of two recent Egyptian finds of Ptolemaic coins noted hitherto only briefly in the *Numismatist*, Mar. 1924, p. 301. The Delta hoard comprises twenty-one silver coins, one of Philadelphus, two of Berenice, and the rest of Philopator. The finding of the rare Berenice coins (Svoronos, Nos. 989 and 990) in Egypt helps to disprove Svoronos' attribution of this type to the mints of Ephesus and Seleucia.

The Keneh hoard contained forty-three gold octodrachms, two gold tetradrachms, and over two hundred silver tetradrachms of Ptolemies VI, VII, and VIII. Important is the evidence of one of the silver coins of the hoard, assigned by Reichard and Poole to Ptolemy VII, and by Svoronos to Ptolemy VIII. Its presence in the hoard fixes it as belonging to the former. Newell dates the burial of the hoard at about 144 B.C., during the stormy period of Euergetes' return to Egypt. Drastic reprisals against those who had favored his predecessors forced many of the wealthy and influential to flee for their lives and property. Under these circumstances the treasure was probably buried.

"Pyramids of the Queens".—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.*, July-Sept., 1927, pp. 188-193, GUSTAVE JEQUIER discusses the so-called "pyramids of the queens" of the Early Empire, these being the small pyramids built near, and within the enclosure of, the great pyramids. There have been found small pyramids of the actual queens, tombs at a distance from the King's pyramid and possessing the complete installation for the cult of the dead. These so-called "queens' pyramids" on

¹ The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books are conducted by Professor HEFFNER, Editor-in-charge, assisted by Professor SAMUEL E. BASSETT, Professor CARROLL N. BROWN, Miss MARY BUCKINGHAM, Professor SIDNEY N. DEANE, Professor ROBERT E. DENGLE, Mrs. EDITH HALL DOHAN, Professor HAROLD N. FOWLER, Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, Professor RALPH VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN, Professor CLARENCE MANNING, Professor ELMER T. MERRILL, Professor LEWIS B. PATON, Professor HOMER F. REBERT, Professor JOHN C. ROLFE, Professor JOHN SHAPLEY, Professor FRANK G. SPECK, Professor FRANCIS J. TSCHAN, Professor AXEL J. UPPVALL, Professor SHIRLEY WEBER, and the Editors.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after December 31, 1927.

For an explanation of the abbreviations, see Vol. xxx, 1, p. 124.

the other hand, as, for instance, those near the greater structures of Pepi and Teti, have no chapel, no stele, not the slightest inscription; the sub-structure is like a rough well, not satisfactory for an entombment in either capacity or finish. Mr. Jequier thinks that such small pyramids, close by and within the enclosure of the greater, may have solar significance, either as an emblem or as part of a cult of which we do not know. It is hoped that new digs and new studies may solve this important question.

ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

A Geographical Document from Dura.—Among the remains of a number of light shields—perhaps made for parade rather than for actual use—which were discovered in 1922 at Salihyeh (Dura) on the Euphrates, one fragment is of exceptional interest. It is a part of the leather or parchment outer covering of such a shield. In the centre of the circle was a painting representing two ships and some smaller boats. On the darker border surrounding this picture is a series of geographical names, accompanied by summary representations of buildings and of rivers, and by statements of distances in Roman miles. The first part of this itinerary gives the stages on a Roman road which followed the shores of the Black Sea from Byzantium to the Danube. Beyond the Danube the stations lead to the Tauric Chersonese. Thence the list is continued across the Black Sea to Trapezus and Artaxata. FRANZ CUMONT, who publishes a study of the shield in *Syria* vi (1925), pp. 1–15 (colored pl.), believes that the list of stations commemorates the career of a legionary soldier who had a part in a campaign against the Goths in 238 A.D. The geographical data on the shield are derived from a Roman map, since the names are transmitted through the Latin, though the inscription is in Greek, and since the distances are recorded in Roman miles.

SYRIA AND PALESTINE

A Citizen of Beyrouth.—RENÉ CAGNAT publishes in *Syria* vii (1926), pp. 67–70, two inscriptions from statue bases discovered at Beyrouth, both in honor of one M. Sentius Proculus, whose titles indicate a considerable political and military career. He belonged to that provincial aristocracy upon which the empire drew in the second and third centuries to fill vacancies in the senatorial ranks. He was honored by his fellow-citizens as a *patronus coloniae*. Neither the text nor the forms of the letters of the inscriptions makes it possible to establish the date of the subject with precision.

Latin Inscriptions from Syria.—In *Syria* v (1925), pp. 108–112, RENÉ CAGNAT comments on a number of minor Latin inscriptions from Syria transmitted by M. Virolleaud to the Académie des Inscriptions. No. 7 in this group, which was published in the Corpus from a transcription by Cyriacus of Ancona (*C.I.L.* III, 160), has been suspected, but the discovery of the original stone at Beyrouth confirms its authenticity.

Notes on Hittite Cylinders.—In *Syria* vi (1925), pp. 205–214 (15 figs.), J. SIX has a series of notes relating to the interpretation of certain motives in representations on intaglio seal-cylinders of Hittite origin. (1) The interlaced spiral frequently signifies running water. But spirals on Mycenaean ceilings seem sometimes intended to represent the sea of clouds above. (2) A garment represented as with a large lozenge pattern is probably to be understood as copied from a corded fabric. (3) An implement represented on two seals is a key, and the god who holds it is god of the thunder; the key indicates that he “opens the sluices of the heavens” (*Genesis* vii, 11): (4) A sphinx with a female head shows the influence of Queen Hat-shep-su, the only Egyptian queen who was represented in the form of a sphinx.

(5) The two-headed eagle which sometimes occurs may be of Mesopotamian origin, but it became especially characteristic of Hittite art, and, preserved in the tradition of Asia Minor, it was transmitted through the Seljuk Turks to mediaeval Europe. Its occurrence in Southern Egypt is due to the Hyksos, who were Hittites. (6) A representation on a cylinder in Berlin is probably significant of an astronomical myth in which the legend of Pasiphae originated. (7) The pose of a nude goddess on one cylinder so strongly suggests that of the Cnidian Aphrodite that M. Six conjectures that Praxiteles was not making a wholly independent innovation in his portrayal of the goddess, but was influenced by the iconographic tradition of her Oriental cult.

Samaria in the Time of Ahab.—RENÉ DUSSAUD has contributed to *Syria* vi (1925), pp. 314-338, (2 pls., 6 figs.); vii (1926), pp. 9-29, (2 figs.) an article on the extant remains and the history of Samaria in the period of Ahab. He gives a résumé of the results of Dr. Reisner's excavations on the site, so far as they illustrate the period in question, and discusses in particular the civilization of Samaria under Ahab, the remains of the palace and the fortifications of the city, and the evidence contributed by inscribed ostraka from the site to the history of the Semitic alphabets. M. Dussaud comments on a number of place-names of ancient Samaria, with suggestions on the identification of the sites in question. In a final chapter he reviews the epigraphic evidence regarding the stewards who gathered from the several districts of the kingdom the contributions in kind levied for the support of the royal house.

Seleucia on the Euphrates.—In *Syria* vi (1925), pp. 253-268, JOSEPH DOBIÁŠ argues in confirmation of M. Cumont's identification of the Zeugma of Strabo xvi, 2, 3, p. 749, with the Cyrrhestic Zeugma and with the site of Seleucia on the Euphrates. He finds support for this view not only in a comparison of this passage with other references in Strabo, but also in a passage of Cicero's letters (*Ad Quintum fratrem* ii, 10-12). An inscription of the second century not quoted by Cumont also shows that as late as the second century the place was still sometimes called Seleucia Zeugme. A statement of Theodoretus (*Hist. Eccl.* iv, 44) seems to imply that Zeugma was not far from Samosata, since a bishop is said to have journeyed from one place to the other in a single night. Theodoretus may have been incorrectly informed about the distance. But a postscript to M. Dobiáš's article quotes M. Cumont as saying that with good rowing the distance down stream could be accomplished in this time.

Some Bronzes from Byblos and their Northern Origin.—In *Syria* vi (1925), pp. 16-29 (2 pls.; 9 figs.), HENRI HUBERT discusses the probable origin of a group of objects of bronze which were found beneath the pavement of the Egyptian temple excavated by M. Montet at Byblos in 1922. These include a hundred collars (torques), a hundred pins, some girdles, and a number of spirals. The temple is assigned by M. Montet to a date between the Old Kingdom and the Middle; but it may be in part a restoration of somewhat later date. M. Hubert inclines, at any rate, to date the collection of bronze objects in the period of the Middle Kingdom, about 2000-1700 B.C., a date corresponding to that of a house of the XIIth or XIIIth Dynasty found at Kahun in Egypt, in which torques similar to those of Byblos were discovered (Flinders Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, p. 12, pl. XIII, fig. 18). The nearest analogy to the Byblos bronzes is in a series found at Koban, north of the Caucasus, and M. Hubert believes that the Byblos bronzes came from the Caucasian region. The reputation of this region in metal work was extensive even at an early date. Probably the Egyptians ordinarily imported only the raw materials for metal work from the north; but such ornaments as those of the Byblos find may have belonged to slaves who came from the Caucasus.

Sumerian Sculptures.—In *Mus. J.* (University of Pennsylvania), xviii, 3 (Sept., 1927), pp. 217–247 (17 pls.), LEON LEGRAIN discusses the above subject. Three periods are distinguished: of Sargon and Naram Sin, about B.C. 2600; of Gudea, about B.C. 2400; of the Third Ur Dynasty, about B.C. 2200. The fullest development is reached in the Gudea period, marked by simplicity and soberness realized in large, smooth surfaces. A national type is achieved, very different from the Egyptian; the proportions are ungainly, but the modelling, especially of the nude parts, is very naturalistic. The physiognomy and physique of the Sumerian statuary are treated in some detail in the discussion. Types and positions of statues are described; the feminine statuette was not rare, even approximating the classic Greek in grace. In the third period, especially, there is a softening and refinement, seen in folds of garments, etc.

There follows a series of plates with descriptive press beautifully illuminating the best work between B.C. 2600 and 2100, most of it having been discovered by the joint expedition of the British and University of Pennsylvania Museums. The titles of the series are: (1) white marble head of a girl with inlaid eyes (2 pls.); (2) black diorite statue of Ningal (3 pls.); (3) a diorite statue of the goddess Bau (2 pls.); (4) a headless statue from Nippur (2 pls.); (5) a limestone statuette of a woman worshiper wearing the figured shawl (2 pls.); (6) a daughter of Sargon, high priestess of Ur (2 pls.); (7) a diorite head of Gudea (2 pls.); (8) head with turban (Gudea type) found at Nippur (1 pl.); (9) worshiper offering a lamb or kid (1 pl.).

A Thiasos at Palmyra.—In *Syria* vii (1926), pp. 128–141 (pl.), HARALD INGHOLT publishes with detailed interpretation and commentary an interesting Aramaic inscription discovered at Palmyra in the course of Dr. Ingholt's archaeological mission of 1925. The inscription commemorates the presidency of one Jarhai Agrippa in a thiasos, the object of whose cult is not revealed in the inscription. We learn that the association had a considerable number of officers: a symposiarch, priests, a secretary, a chief cook, and a head butler.

Three Statuettes of Aphrodite.—In *Syria* vi (1925), pp. 303–313 (4 pls.), ÉTIENNE MICHON discusses three bronze statuettes of Aphrodite which were discovered in Syria and which once belonged to the collection of Joseph Durighello. (1) The first of these, of the type of the *Venus pudique*, was acquired by the Louvre in 1893, and was published in the *Mon. Piot* i, 1894, pp. 150–164. Although not without some stiffness of style and some negligence of detail, the statuette is clearly to be ranked above the class of cheap commercial bronzes. The head recalls the large bronze head of Aphrodite from Armenia in the British Museum. (2) The second figure, which was sold at auction, stands with the weight on the left foot, the right drawn far back, the head considerably inclined. The workmanship is somewhat less fine than that of the statuette in the Louvre. The proportions of the figure are more slender than those of most representations of the Syrian Aphrodite. (3) The most distinguished work of the three is a figure of a crouching Aphrodite, which was acquired by the Georges Petit Galerie. The head has a strong resemblance to that of the Cnidian Aphrodite. But M. Michon refrains from any attempt to connect the type of the statue with a celebrated artist. The style of the modelling is naturalistic and vigorous; the plenitude of the bodily forms is characteristic of the Syrian goddess.

Tomb Sculptures from Palmyra.—In *Mus. J.* (University of Pennsylvania), xviii, 4 (Dec., 1927), pp. 325–350 (15 pls.), LEON LEGRAIN discusses the above subject. A fascinating description of modern sites leads gracefully into a fine review of the history of the city of Zenobia and her times. A tax list of the Roman period is furnished and commented upon. The description of typical tombs, which

follows, leads to the discussion proper, a study and characterization of fifteen Palmyrene busts, largely fragments cut out of larger works on sarcophagi, etc., that were brought to the University of Pennsylvania Museum from Palmyra by Dr. John P. Peters in 1890. The paper furnishes a valuable summary of an art rarely commented upon—a combination of Oriental and Greek influences in the East before the Byzantine period. The best collection of Palmyrene sculpture is in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.

TYRE.—In *Num. Notes*, 34, EDGAR ROGERS continues Newell's work on the Seleucid coinage of Tyre from the reign of Alexander Balas onward through the second reign of Demetrius II (125 B.C.).

ASIA MINOR

A Disputed Anatolian Relief.—A marble relief of three figures, published by Sir WILLIAM RAMSAY in his *Revolution in Turkey*, 1909, and there described as "extremely ugly and devoid of the faintest artistic merit," is declared by W. M. CALDER to be a very recent forgery (*J.H.S.* xlvii (1927), pt. ii, pp. 178-179; 2 figs.). Its genuineness and its great value as a monument of the little-understood old Anatolian (pre-Mithraic) religion, are upheld by Sir William, *ibid.*, pp. 180-181.

GREECE

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Cypselus Chest.—A new study of the Cypselus chest, with special reference to the archaeological evidence which has become available within the last twenty-five years, has been made by W. VON MASSOW (*Ath. Mitt.* xli (1916), issued 1927, pp. 1-117; 4 pls.; 25 figs.). A brief discussion of the shape of the chest, its material, technique, use, origin, date, and arguments for confining the decoration to the frontal side, are followed by an examination of the different scenes which Pausanias describes, with an archaeological commentary on each, and a criticism of previous reconstructions. The author's conclusions are made clearer by drawings of his own restoration (fig. 25 and pl. I). Incidentally, new evidence is offered for the genuineness of the golden bowl with the dedicatory inscription of the Cypselidae, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts: similarly shaped drinking vessels are pictured on two Corinthian vases.

Grave Stelai from Samos.—In *Arch. Eph.*, 1924, pp. 63-85, D. EVANGELIDOS discusses grave stelai from Samos. Two fragments recently found by peasants, one abandoned by Boehlau and four more meagre fragments found by the writer, are first described. The prototype of such stelai is to be found not in Mycenaean or Geometric stelai but in eastern examples like the quadrangular stela crowned with an anthemion from Chorsabad. With this may be connected the Erythrai stelai and two Ionic stelai in Athens and one in New York. The anthemion of the Chorsabad type, however, is followed more closely in the Constantinople and Boston stelai. From this Ionic type is derived the Attic. The volutes and anthemions of the stelai are not naturalistic, but show that same vivifying of Geometric forms which is observable in other phases of archaic art. The variations of the volutes and anthemions are described in great detail.

Greek Sea-Power, 776-540 B.C.—A study of the evidence for the history of the states of Greece and the Aegean during the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries B.C. has led A. R. BURN to the conclusion that the puzzling entry of the very unlikely Carians into the chronological list of thalassocracies quoted by Eusebius from Diodorus, is due to a mis-reading of the name of Megara, in a mutilated portion of the text. With this change, the traditional list can stand otherwise unaltered, and approximate dates, supported by literary and archaeological evidence,

can be assigned to each of the successive dominations of the sea, from the decline of Phoenician power to the time of the Persian Wars. (*J.H.S.* xlvii, (1927), pt. ii, pp. 165-177.)

Macedonian Bronzes.—In *Ath. Mitt.* li (1926), pp. 74-97 (4 pls.; 10 figs.), G. OIKONOMOS discusses some Macedonian bronzes in the National Museum, in particular two magnificent ornamental attachments of a bedstead, which he found in Pella in 1914 and briefly described in *Πρακτικά*, 1914, 141-143. The first formed part of the frame supporting the pillow. It is decorated at one end with a bust of Dionysos, and at the other with a donkey's head rendered with remarkable fidelity to nature and revealing the Dionysiac nature of the beast by the partially laid-back ears. The second which is of the same fine workmanship, is the figure of an eagle with wings spread and head turned to the right. Its use is undetermined; most probably it was mounted on the horizontal wooden bar which braced the legs on the side of the couch.

Other bronzes in the National Museum whose provenience is Macedonia include: (1) an archaic statuette of a hoplite putting on his greave; (2) a ring carrying two strigils; at the top of the ring the figure of a man in combat with a lion, in archaic style; (3) a shallow "cult bowl," almost exactly like one found at Herculaneum. At the end of its handle is a figure of a beardless human head surmounted by two ram's horns and two snakes. This has been identified as an Ammon's head, for which the ram's horns testify. The snakes, however, indicate rather a Medusa. Possibly there has been an amalgamation of types; (4) a bronze pitcher with a griffin and an Attis head at either end of the handle; (5) a Silenus head from a similar handle.

A Miracle of Achilles on the Island of Leuce.—In *R. Arch.* xxvi (1927), pp. 201-206, JEAN TOLSTOI comments on the miracle which, according to Arrian (*Peripl.* 32, 33) and Philostratus (*Heroic.* xix, 17; cf. Scylax, *Peripl.* 29 f.), occurred on the island of Leuce, sacred to Achilles. Here the live goats which had been consecrated to the hero, when brought for sacrifice, voluntarily offered themselves to the slaughter. Similarly wild beasts offered themselves at the sanctuary of Rhesus in the vales of Rhodope (Philostr., *Heroic.* ii, 8). In Russia, in the villages of Pretchistoie and Komonev, district of Belozevsk, the sacrifice and purchase of consecrated animals is associated with a similar legend. This rite is clearly a survival of paganism, perhaps arising from the sacrifice of an originally divine animal.

Studies in Cretan-Mycenaean Art.—Some Oriental elements, especially from Hittite and Western Asia Minor sources, can be traced, through a mass of details, in connection with the design on a ring found at Tiryns in 1915. The engraving shows a procession of four lion-demons bringing libations to a seated goddess, with rain clouds and the symbols of sun and moon overhead—apparently a rain-bringing ceremony. The scene is copied from a frieze, and not designed for the oval space which it occupies here. From a somewhat similar process of research it is inferred that the Keftiu of Egyptian wall-painting were Syrians, not Cretans. (v. MUELLER, *Jb. Arch.* I. xlii (1927), pt. 1/2, pp. 1-29; 15 figs.)

ARCHITECTURE

On The Greek Theatre.—A very important contemporary piece of evidence for the construction of the stage-buildings in the time of the New Comedy (second half of the fourth century B.C.) has apparently been overlooked in recent discussion of the Greek theatre. On a bell-crater from Magna Graecia, now in the Louvre, is a picture of the scene in the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides (ll. 1017 ff.) in which Orestes and Pylades plan with Iphigenia to steal the image of Artemis and escape from the country. The middle of the background, against which the two men are

seen, is a long, one-story building with tiled roof sloping forward, and at either side is a wing projecting forward, with a gabled, one-story façade occupied by double doors, one half of which is partly open. These wings here represent the temple and the palace. In front of the left-hand wing the statue of the goddess stands on a stepped base, and in front of the other is Iphigenia in earnest conversation with Orestes. We have here the front wall of the *skené* flanked by the *parascenia*, exactly as seen in the foundations of the first stone theatre at Athens (built by Lycurgus in 340 B.C.) and in many other theatres throughout the Greek world, which can now be reconstructed in their entirety. This is the Old Attic, sometimes called the Western type of stage-building, and is perfectly adapted to the plays of Menander and his followers. In comedy the *parascenia* would represent the conventional two houses. The back wall, left blank in the vase-painting because the conventions of the art forbade the representation of perspective landscape, would be hung with painted canvas scenery, and various moveable objects could be added, such as a fence to divide the two yards. Since the action takes place at least partly in front of the front line of the *parascenia*, it is evidently on the level of the orchestra, with no raised platform. The rows of post-holes found along the back wall of the Lycurgan stage and in some similar theatres also along the walls of the *parascenia*, show that a wooden upper story could be erected when such a platform was needed for the appearance of a god or some other feature of the classic drama, which was written for the more elastic conditions of the fifth-century wooden building. The two-storied stone stage-building with colonnaded *proscenium* and usually without *parascenia*, a type perhaps suggested by some form of exhibition of which we are ignorant, first appeared in the East in early Hellenistic times, and after about 300 B.C. many of the older structures were rebuilt in this style, but both types continued to be built and used for several centuries. The original plan, by which the actual front wall of the *skené* was tangent to the circle of the orchestra, was adhered to, even when disguised by the erection of a *proscenium*. In the two-storied type, the *proscenium* either was used as the background for plays acted on the ground level, with architectural or landscape scenery on painted panels (*pinakes*) showing between the columns, or served as a podium for the narrow platform on its roof, when this was used as the stage. There is no reason to suppose that the two uses were not contemporaneous; certainly the *proedriae*, the seats for judges and dignitaries, are found at two different levels in some theatres. In late Hellenistic times the wall of the upper story was built with large openings, *thyromata*, to accommodate panels of painted scenery similar to the *pinakes* of the colonnade below, but larger. Perhaps two centuries later than the vase, but also from Magna Graecia, is the marble relief in the Naples Museum which represents a scene from comedy. Here is the same Old Attic type of one-story building with *parascenia*, but only the left-hand house, before which the momentary action is taking place, and part of the back wall, hung with painted scenery, are shown. (K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, *Jb. Arch. I.* xlii (1927), pt. 1/2, pp. 30-40; 2 figs.)

The Labyrinth Under the Tholos at Epidauros.—The space inside the three concentric circles of heavy foundation walls which support the three members of the fourth-century round building at Epidauros, namely the outer row of Doric columns, the *cella* wall, and the inner row of Corinthian columns, is divided by three smaller circular walls into a small central chamber and three circular passages, which are further cut by a single radial wall but communicate one with another, through narrow openings placed as far apart as possible. The labyrinth thus formed had no entrance, since there was no opening either in the encircling foundation wall of the Corinthian columns or in the pavement of marble tiles which

covers it. As its walls are much deeper than any support that could be needed for this floor, they serve no purpose in the fourth-century building, and must therefore belong to an earlier structure, over which that one was built. This supposition is borne out by the difference in their construction. In the walls of the labyrinth, three courses of blocks equal the height of four courses of the fourth-century foundations. Moreover, these inner walls are smoothly finished on the outer sides, as if to be exposed to view, and they rest on a broader foundation, which projects both inside and outside their thickness. The opening in the outermost ring is cut into an arch at the top, giving a height of 1.624 m., and the section of the radial wall which bars the outermost of the circular passages is of rougher construction than the other sections, and not fitted into the walls which it touches. These are all indications that the building was not originally underground. It is clear that the level on which the new buildings of the fourth century were erected,—temple, altar, and tholos,—is an artificial terrace made at that time to carry out the higher natural level of the ground at the east. The original surface of the ground, with ancient buildings on it, remains as it was on the north, west, and south of the terrace, and is reached by a flight of steps from the adyton. Whatever the original purpose of this strangely built little round edifice, as it stood in the midst of the sacred precinct, the site was so sacred that the much more magnificent plans of the builders of the fourth century included a larger round building on the exact spot. Apparently it was at first intended to keep the old one in use or at least accessible, for the passages were not filled up, only such rubbish having been found in them as had fallen in accidentally. Undoubtedly the plan was changed in the course of the years over which the building operations extended, and after it was decided to give up the use of the old building, whatever entrance from above may have been left, was closed up by laying the marble floor without a break. Henceforth the old shrine was no longer to be seen, and the new one became the *Θυμέλη*. (F. NOACK, *Jb. Arch. I.* xlii, (1927), pt. 1/2, pp. 75-79; 5 figs.)

Tower of the Winds at Athens.—In *Byzantion* iii (1926), 1, pp. 29-31, PAUL GRAINDOR discusses the Tower of the Winds at Athens as the most ancient example of the roofing over of an octagonal ground-plan. The discovery, about 1926, in Tenos of a similar tower with an inscription, has shown that the Andronicus who was constructor of both was a native, not of the Cyrrhus in Syria, but of that in Macedonia, and indicates that it is not to the fourth century of our era in the East, but to the first century B.C. in the West that we are to look for the origin of this interesting structural device. Mr. Graindor believes the tower at Athens to date from the time of Julius Caesar. The system of covering over the tower was not merely decorative but constructive, being intended to relieve the weight of the superincumbent blocks.

SCULPTURE

The Form and Significance of the Seated Figure in Oriental and Greek Art.—

In *Ath. Mitt.*, xli (1916; issued 1927), pp. 119-219 (10 pls.; 16 figs.), H. MÖBIUS publishes his doctoral dissertation *Über Form und Bedeutung der sitzenden Gestalt in der Kunst des Orients und der Griechen*, in which he traces the development of the seated type from the Stone Age through Egypt, the western Asiatic empires, Aegean art, and Greek art to the end of the archaic period. Ancient art tried to reconcile the typical with the real. Form and contents had a reciprocal influence. The seated posture was chosen, not because it appealed to the aesthetic sense of the artist, but because it was appropriate to the person and circumstances portrayed. Early in European culture sitting on the ground came to be regarded as ignoble. An artificial seat raised a man from the earth and gave him nobility. Hence the

throne was a token of sovereignty, like scepter and crown, and sitting on the ground indicated a humble state, either of social position, or of circumstance or mood.

Egypt preferred the seated to the standing figure in general, and excelled all nations in representing the human figure seated on the ground, which was the common posture of the people. The Asiatic empires had less interest in daily life; their statues were draped and not realistic, for they were inferior as observers of nature. Cretan art has no enthroned king or divinity; its few seated gods show Oriental influence, because they lack life. The vivacity of the Cretan seated figure is seen in both its pose and its freedom of movement. On Greek Geometric vases the seated divinity owes its origin to the Orient; mortals, sailors, and mourners, for example, sit on the ground. During the next period the strong influence of the East is seen in the "Oriental silhouette," with shortened torso, thighs lengthened, and the garment outlining a gentle curve from hips to feet, concealing the bend of the knees. Greek archaic sculpture, because of its debt to the despotic East, represents some divinities sitting who stand in later art. The Cretan-Peloponnesian seated figures show a union of Egyptian with Greek characteristics. The Branchidae statues, on the other hand, seem to be more closely related to Asiatic art. In the Endoios Athena Athens contributed the first seated statue which expressed energy and life.

Archaic statuary and vase-painting in their development have nothing in common; the latter relies entirely upon the outline for its effect. The art of the black-figured vases prefers scenes in which there is action rather than fatigue or repose (exceptions are the weary Herakles and the effeminate Dionysos). The seated posture is chosen to indicate authority or occupation or the custom of long tradition, for example, the suppliant on the altar steps. The figures which in archaic Greek art crouch or sit on the ground are monsters, satyrs, and the like, and drunken human beings; menials, craftsmen at their work, and children. At weddings and funerals, and in mourning generally, convention accounts for the lowly posture; suppliants and seers sit on the ground because of the symbolism of this attitude. It was not until the end of the classic period that the crouching figure was represented at the will of the artist and without some constraining influence of the circumstances.

Fragment of Inscribed Stele.—The fragment of an inscribed stele found in the Amyclaeum, and known to the public since 1912, was thought by Fiechter to belong to the sculptural decoration of the throne. It is rather a portion of a stele representing a young athlete, probably a discus thrower. That it should have been set up within the Amyclaeum indicates its unusual significance. Hence it is to be identified with the stele mentioned by Pausanias (III, 18, 5), which was set up in honor of Ainetos, a pentathlete who died while still wearing the crown of victory at Olympia. On the ground of technique it is to be assigned to the first half of the fifth century B.C. (W. VON MASSOW, *Ath. Mitt.* li (1926), pp. 40-47; 1 pl., 1 fig.)

Marble Base in the Asclepieum at Athens.—The upper part of a triangular marble base, now in the Asclepieum at Athens, seems to be the earliest of a series of similar bases, of which the best known is the Neo-Attic base in Dresden. The base in the Asclepieum originally supported two figures, *vis-à-vis*, on either side of a large object, probably a vase. At the corners of the base were lions' legs. Its sides were ornamented with acanthus leaves, which developed into an ornamental vine at the top. The base is either of the fourth century B.C., or else an accurate copy of a work of that period. Its ornamentation seems to indicate that it came from the same workshop as the marble throne in the Acropolis Museum, the earliest of a series which includes the throne in the theatre of Dionysos, and dated by

the name of the archon probably towards the middle of the fourth century B.C. (H. MÖBIUS, *Ath. Mitt.* li (1926), pp. 117-124; 3 pls.; 1 fig.)

The Marble Euthynteria of the Parthenon.—In *Ath. Mitt.* li (1926), pp. 125-127 (2 pls.), E. KUNZE argues against the view (*Ath. Mitt.* xlvii (1922), pp. 124 ff.) that the marble *euthynteria* at the west end of the Parthenon was meant to be visible, as follows: the juncture between the marble *euthynteria* and the foundation of the earlier Parthenon at the northwest and southwest corners, and the working of the face of the porous blocks which the greater height at the west end made it necessary to insert under the marble *euthynteria*, give no evidence that the latter belonged to the visible superstructure. On the other hand, the blocks of this *euthynteria* which are in front of the west doorway, cannot have formed a seventh step of the entrance stairway, but must have been the foundation for the sixth step, since their faces are left partly rough and the joints are beyond the limits of the steps at either end.

Observations on the Cleaning of Ancient Bronzes.—In *Arch. Eph.*, 1924, pp. 86-101, K. ZENGELES publishes various observations on ancient bronzes. He first describes how the recently found statue of the Marathon boy was cleaned. No chemicals were used for fear of destroying the patina. The bronze was submerged in water which was frequently renewed and at the end distilled water was used. Into this bath, above the places on the statue which were most incrustated, was introduced hot vapor, and after a few minutes of this treatment the deposit was so loosened that it could be wiped away with a soft cloth or brush. The patina differs widely in color according as to whether water, sand, or shells lay next its surface. Here and there is observable a black lustrous coating with a slight purplish tinge. It is not the remains of silver plating, for on analysis it shows approximately the same composition as the bronze statue itself, except that more sulphur is present. The writer concludes that this dark lustrous substance is the remnant of an ancient artificial patina. The literary and material evidence in support of his theory is next examined and held to support his views. The artificial patina was used by the ancients for both artistic and practical reasons. As to the bronze disease which ravages so many museum specimens, it is not the result of a microbe, as has sometimes been held, but of a chemical reaction (which is fully discussed) that takes place in the presence of both salt and air. It is not found in bronzes recovered from the sea. For its cure the electro-chemical process of Finkener is better than Rosenberg's applications of thin sheets of aluminium, although the latter method may avail in cases where the disease has not too deeply invaded the bronze.

Relief in Myconos.—The fragment of a marble relief in Myconos, known since 1886, represents a covered *deinos*, with griffin heads on its shoulder, supported by an unfluted column. This representation is regarded by E. VON MERCKLIN (*Ath. Mitt.* li (1926), pp. 98-116; 6 inserted pls.; 2 figs.) as the translation to a grave stele of a marble *deinos* which in Attica, like the *lutrophorus* and *lecythus*, served as a grave monument. Fauvel in 1800 saw six similar *deinoi* in an ancient cemetery behind Hymettos. Ten others are still extant, all from Attica or Euboea. They are fluted and, with one exception, show holes from three to six in number, for the insertion of ornaments like the griffin heads on the Myconos relief. With one, at least, were found the griffin heads. Fragments of columns which probably supported these vases have also been found, and other griffin heads of similar style. In type the griffins find the closest parallel on coins of Abdera, 408-350 B.C. The ornamentation of the *deinoi* and of a capital, which apparently belongs to the column supporting one of them, points also to the fourth century B.C. These *deinoi* originated in actual urns containing the ashes of the dead. Their form persists in

later times; for example, on the Tower of the Winds, Sciron holds in his hands a similar vessel.

Sculptures of Temple of Zeus at Olympia.—In *Ath. Mitt.* li (1926), pp. 163–170, E. BUSCHOR analyzes the sculptures which adorned the Zeus temple at Olympia, and on the basis of this analysis assigns the work to five sculptors, each of whom carved figures in both gables, and metopes of both the east and the west fronts. The west pediment shows a more developed technique than the east; the west metopes seem to be later than those of the east front, but earlier than the west pediment.

Some Notes on Greek Sculpture.—(1) That the Roman coiffure of tight “corkscrew” curls which appeared in the time of Claudius with three rows of little curls surrounding the forehead like a crown, and which grew to such huge proportions in the wigs of the later Flavian epoch, does not lack Greek, and even fifth-century Greek, precedent, is seen in a beautiful Boeotian terracotta peplos figure in Budapest, representing a maiden whose delicate face is set off by a huge mass of braided hair trimmed with flowers and surmounted by a wide calathos. In the garden of the Villa Doria-Pamfili is a statue having the same costume and the same position of the hands (right hand lowered at the side, left hand raised as if to hold a veil or some other object), and here, too, the face is surrounded by a great sponge-like wig. Possibly the original of this type was a cult-statue in the sanctuary of Demeter at Phaleron. (2) The head of a bearded old man on a fragment of a relief in the Archaeological Museum at Florence, when compared with the similar head on the grave monument from the Ilissus in the National Museum in Athens, shows such a striking resemblance that it can be referred with certainty to an Attic grave relief of the second half of the fourth century B.C., and possibly also to the same hand, that of Scopas. (3) Some light is shed on the discussion of the portraits of Sophocles by the recent publication of a cast taken from the head of the Lateran statue before it had been “beautified” and reduced to commonplace by the restorer Tenerani. The original expression was serious and thoughtful, as if from experience of a life of sadness, but this character is smoothed out of most of the replicas, one of which, in bronze, from Leghorn, is now in the Archaeological Museum at Florence. The Lycurgan date of the type cannot successfully be questioned, but a predecessor and perhaps model for it, is to be seen in the bearded head in the background of a grave relief in the National Museum in Athens (No. 832), which is of about the year 350 B.C. (4) The most trustworthy ground for the conclusions which have been reached in regard to the development of Greek sculpture in the later decades of the fifth century, and their best defence against such subversive attacks as that recently made, on purely subjective grounds, by L. Curtius, as to the chronology of the Parthenon sculptures, is to be found in the reliefs on official public inscriptions: for these can be accurately dated, and with due allowance for the time that it takes for the products of great art to be reflected in these unpretentious works, they give the surest evidence that we have, for the dating of their originals and of other copies, especially votive reliefs. Instances of documents which can be profitably referred to are the Athenian honorary decree for the Neapolitans, 410/409, at Athens, the inscription of the year 420/419 at Eleusis, and the honorary decree for the Samians, 405/404 in the Acropolis Museum. (A. HEKLER, *Jb. Arch. I.* xlii (1927), pt. 1/2; pp. 63–74; 8 pls.; 13 figs.)

PAINTING

Polystratus of Oration XX in the Lysianic Corpus.—Oration XX of the Lysianic corpus is in defense of a certain Polystratus, who had been involved in the revolution of 411 B.C. This Polystratus was a wealthy and influential man of the deme Deiradae, and his sons distinguished themselves in Athenian military service. The

deme Deiradae is located by inscriptions in the vicinity of Keratea. In the National Museum are three marble vases, two lutrophori and a lecythus, which bear the names of Philopolis, who is both the son and the father of a Polystratus, and a third Polystratus, whose father's name is not given. The provenience of two of these vases is unknown, but the third was found near Keratea. Hence it seems probable that the three vases come from the family burial plot of Polystratus Deiradiotes. Two of his three sons, mentioned in [Lysias] XX, are Philopolis and Polystratus II, and the former had a son, Polystratus III. The two lutrophori represent this son, Polystratus III, attended by a shield bearer with a peaked helmet, taking leave of his father, Philopolis; doubtless Polystratus III met his death in the Corinthian War, and was, therefore, a comrade of Dexileos. The lecythus represents the two brothers, Philopolis and Polystratus II, as old men. A woman, Stratokleia, appears on one of the lutrophori. Stylistic considerations assign the lecythus to about the year 380 B.C. The lutrophori are perhaps ten years earlier. (C. BLÜMEL, *Ath. Mitt.* li (1926), pp. 57-74; 1 pl.; 8 figs.)

Niobe.—Through a series of studies and comparisons of the various forms in which the representation of the slaying of Niobe's children by Apollo and Artemis has come down to us,—statues, especially the Florentine group, supplemented by the kneeling figure recently discovered in the Gardens of Sallust,—Roman sarcophagi,—neo-Attic reliefs, especially the round plaque in the British Museum,—the painting on marble from Pompeii,—vases, especially the fifth-century crater at Orvieto and the cylix in the British Museum,—with their manifold variations through adaptation, selection, and addition, E. LOEWY has reached the conclusion that the original source of all these as well as of the lost version on the throne of Zeus at Olympia, was a wall-painting by Polygnotus, perhaps in a temple of Apollo, and quite possibly inspired by a scene in the "Niobe" of Aeschylus, and that the treatment in the round belongs to the Pergamene period of art. (*Jb. Arch.* I. xlii (1924), pt. 1/2, pp. 80-136; 2 pls.; 23 figs.)

Three Amphorae in the Athens National Museum.—In *Arch. Eph.*, 1924, pp. 102-118, M. DEFFNER discusses three amphorae which were long in the royal villa at Tatoi, but were transferred in 1925 to the Athens National Museum. One, a black-figured panel amphora, was presented to the late king, George the First, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession, probably by a committee of Thebans. On the obverse panel are represented warriors fighting; on the reverse three men each armed with a club and carrying a chlamys. The other two amphorae are red-figured and were once the property of Joachim Murat, king of Naples. M. Skouloudes acquired one of them in Naples from his agent and the other from Lambros, who had purchased it the year before from the same source. M. Skouloudes presented them both to King George in 1881. One is a very fine column-krater with representation of a wine-press, a companion-piece to a column-krater in the Vatican depicting the same subject but with this difference that on the Athens vase a satyr treads out the grapes in a large basket through which the juice oozes out into a trough and thence into a half sunken pithos, whereas on the Vatican piece the grapes which the satyr is treading out are enclosed in a wine-skin. The writer thinks them to be the work of the same hand, but the Athens piece the later. Other evidence in regard to ancient wine-presses is cited. The third vase is a late amphora with a continuous frieze of figures interpreted as Meleager and his companions.

INSCRIPTIONS

Corrections in Greek Inscriptions.—In *Ath. Mitt.* li (1926), pp. 16-20, A. WILHELM publishes notes and corrections concerning fourteen names in Greek inscriptions which have been either wrongly read or wrongly restored.

Further Study of Six Inscriptions.—In *Arch. Eph.*, 1924, pp. 50–62, A. WILHELM corrects and completes earlier readings of six inscriptions from various sources.

A dedicatory inscription to Athena Polias in the Acropolis Museum he dates in the fourth century, and before *Polias* he restores *Ergane*, thus confirming Doerpfeld's opinion that there was no sanctuary of Athena Ergane on the Acropolis separate from that of Athena Polias.

In a metrical inscription from Thassanous in the Rhodian Peraea Leonardos' reading ἐς φάος ἀμά[τιον] is altered to ἔσσαι σᾶμα[τρόδε], and the second couplet, regarded as hopeless, is completed.

An epitaph from Macedonia, thought by G. P. Oikonomos to contain three hemistichs, in reality contains parts of three distichs, all of which are completed except the last line, of which only two letters are preserved. The first line of this inscription is a heptameter.

Two fragments of a late metrical inscription from the Cave of Pan, near Phyle, were thought by the late A. Skias not to belong with a third stone found years ago by a peasant and published by Wilhelm in 1896. The three stones are, however, shown to be from one and the same inscription, a dedication to Pan by three Thracian boys, only the last lines of which are now lacking.

Another metrical inscription from the same site, rightly recognized by the late A. Skias as the dedication of the well known Nikagoras, had been regarded as impossible to complete, since not quite half is preserved. The writer successfully completes it.

An inscription from Cephallenia had been regarded by N. I. Iannopoulos as a grave inscription, but the writer obtained an impression of the stone and emended *θαψε* to *στησε*. The inscription is honorary.

Greek Inscriptions on Amphorae at Ravenna.—In *Byzantion* iii (1926), 1, pp. 251–252, P. GRAINDOR discusses the Greek inscriptions ("wine of Scyros") on the long, pointed amphorae that form the cupola of the Baptistery at Ravenna. Galen is quoted (*Med. Graeci*, ed. Kuhn, XV, p. 648) to show that this wine was specific for fevers and would have been especially indicated in so marshy <and malarial> a district as Ravenna.

Honorary Decree.—In *Arch. Eph.*, 1924, pp. 193–194, A. WILHELM restores a passage, hitherto unintelligible, in an honorary decree of Roman times recently published by P. Graindor in *Rev. Arch.* (1917), II, 25, No. 14.

Inscriptions from Rhodes and Cos.—The inscriptions from Rhodes and Cos, published by Maiuri, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (1925), and discussed by De Sanctis, *Riv. d. Fil.* iv (liv), 57 ff., and by F. von Gaertingen, *Gnomon* ii, 193 ff., receive further critical comments from A. WILHELM in *Ath. Mitt.* li (1926), pp. 1–13.

The Theminostratos Inscription.—The Theminostratos inscription (*Klio* xx, 466) comes, not from Crete, but from Calymna. It had already been published by Studniczka (*Ath. Mitt.* xiii, 188 f.), who, however, read Θε(ο)μόστρατος. The name Theminostratos is found only at Calymna. Στεφανοφόρων (l. 3) refers, not to a victorious athlete, but to the chief magistrate, στεφανοφόρος, of Calymna. (A. WILHELM, *Ath. Mitt.* li (1926), pp. 14 f.)

Thessalian Inscriptions.—In *Arch. Eph.*, 1924, pp. 142–193, A. S. ARVANITOPOULOS continues his catalogue of Thessalian inscriptions (see *id.*, 1923, pp. 123–162). Thirty-two inscriptions are here listed. Of these the first nine are dedicatory, if this term may be used to include lists of dedicators, of which there are three. The most important of the dedications is inscribed on a relief, with a representation of Zeus Keraunios. Beside him stands the dedicator's wife, which leads the writer

to conclude that after his death by lightning, his wife set up this stone. With the exception of two or three grave-inscriptions, the rest of the list consists of manumission inscriptions.

Two Archaic Inscriptions from Thermon.—In *Arch. Eph.*, 1924, pp. 119–141, N. G. PAPPADAKES describes an important archaic inscription reported to have been found near Thermon. It is written boustrophedon on either side of a thin bronze plaque, but the last lines on the reverse are from another and older inscription. The alphabet is west Locrian; the dialect north-west Greek with an admixture of Aeolic forms. The inscription records an agreement between Plakosulia and Liskaria in regard to the division of land between old inhabitants and immigrants. It dates from about 500 B.C. and is therefore earlier than the Naupactus agreement. It is important for the light it throws on the early stages of political organization.

Tribute List of 421–420.—In *Arch. Eph.*, 1924, pp. 41–49, A. B. WEST and B. D. MERRITT examine the tribute list of 421–420, of which three fragments are preserved. By reading *Μενεκλες* (instead of *Μενεκλεες*) in the first line of the introductory text, to correspond with the spelling of *τριακοστές*, which they establish for the sixth line, they fix the reading of the entire first line and so compute the width of the stone as 0.700 m. The lists themselves are written in three columns, the exact width of each of which is determined, as well as the relative position of the extant fragments. The list began with the Ionians, seventeen names being preserved in the lower part of the first column and seven at the top of the second column. After a gap, the length of which is also determined, follows the list from the Hellespont. The Thracian list began at the foot of the second column and ended at the top of the third, where five names are preserved. The authors think that the list of islands was placed at the end.

COINS

Greek Coins of Syria.—In *Revue Numismatique* xxx (1927), pp. 1–50, A. DIEUDONNÉ gives an analysis and description of the Greek coins of Syria in the Cabinet des Médailles, with running comment on the types and legends.

Two Greek Hoards in Egypt.—In *Z. Num.* xxxvii (1927), pp. 1–138 (6 plates), the late H. DRESSSEL and K. REGLING have made a study of two hoards of ancient Greek coins found in the lower Delta region in Egypt in 1901, at Damanhur and at Zagazig (Bubastis). The first hoard consisted of at least 191 coins and two chunks of unstruck silver; the second of at least 84 coins, five large silver bars and eleven unstamped silver pieces. The two hoards embrace a period of about 120 to 150 years of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. They are now dispersed, although a large number of the coins and all the unstruck silver repose in the Berlin collection. Many of the coins have been already published separately or listed by dealers.

A marked characteristic of these hoards is that several of the coins and bars bear deep incisions in them made by a chisel and mallet to test the genuineness of the metal. Dressel has shown that hoards similar to these, found in the Delta, are not the silver supply of a jeweller, but silver taken into Egypt to exchange for grain, and awaiting distribution among the farmers of the Nile Valley. The widespread provenance of the coins, Thrace, Macedonia, the mainland of Greece, Aegean islands, Lydia, Cyprus, is an indication of the extent of the dependence on Egypt for food supply.

Many coins are found here for the first time. There are a number of coins attributed by Head to the town of Lete, the obverse showing an ithyphallic satyr seizing a nymph. Head's reading of the inscription, NOIAT [E] Λ is disputed by Regling, as is also the newer reading of Svoronos (*Journ. Int.* xix, p. 76)

NONIŪI). The exact provenance remains unknown, but he would place it in the Pangeum district in Thrace. Two remarkable coins having on the obverse three lions with open jaws and raised paws, in the form of a triskeles, and on the reverse a triskeles in an incuse triangle are discussed by Regling, who rejects in turn Lycia, Aspendos, and Macedonia as places of origin, and leaves the problem unsolved.

Regling's usual keen observations, and the wide geographical distribution of the coins make this an article of unusual value.

ITALY

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Etruscan Sites.—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* xliv (1927), pp. 91–102, Lieutenant Colonel LOUIS LANGLOIS considers Etruscan sites from the topographical and military point of view. Immigrants who come to a country by sea naturally settle on peninsulas and promontories which are easily defended against attack from the land side and also afford good harborage, in ancient times with a beach for drawing up ships. Immigrants who come by land select for their fortified settlements, if possible, isolated hills not so near the sea as to be exposed to attacks from pirates, even though they may wish the sea to be accessible for the purpose of fishing and perhaps for trade. All Etruscan sites of any importance (many of which are cited) have the characteristics of places settled by immigrants who come by land. Whether the Etruscans originated in Asia, or not, they must have reached Italy by land from the north, not by sea, and their sea power developed after they settled in Italy.

The Lictors' Fasces.—In *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, serie sesta, ii (1926), pp. 521–531, L. CECI discusses the supposed Etruscan origin of the licitor's fasces. Silius Italicus (*Punic.* viii, 483 sq.) says:

Maenoniaeque decus quondam Vetulonia gentis,
Bissenos haec prima dedit praecedere fasces,
Et iunxit totidem tacito terrore securis.

In a tomb at Vetulonia, called the "tomb of the licitor," the rods and the axe are in fact represented on a grave stele, but the richness of the burial indicates not a licitor but a lucumo. As against Rosenberg, who sees in this tomb proof that Silius was right, Ceci insists that the bundle of rods was the original and essential part of the fasces, that the *crux* was originally a rod or *palus*, and that the *fasces*, representing the Roman imperium, were introduced not only into Vetulonia but into Etruria and all Italy. Capital execution was not originally beheading, but rather losing one's life by hanging on the stake or *crux*; the axe was a sacrificial implement, reserved for the immolation of victims. So *carnifex* was originally the one who cut the victim into pieces, not an executioner.

The Ornamentation of Roman Lamps.—In *R. Arch.* xxvi (1927), 233–263, W. DEONNA discusses the ornamentation of Roman lamps with regard to its meaning. Lamps serve the living, the gods, and the dead; they are employed in religious services, in divination, in magic, as talismans, and in symbolism. Lamps in the forms of deities or of attributes of deities were intended for use in special cults. Lamps are concerned with life in the night, hence their decoration with bedroom scenes of all sorts, with plants or animals or deities supposed to bring good dreams, with scenes or objects which, if seen in dreams, are favorable omens, and with other *motifs* which may have some relation to dreams. The decoration may consist of birds, such as the eagle or the cock, which are of good omen in waking life; it may also, often with an inscription, express good wishes, for lamps were frequently given as presents. Lamps were also used as talismans and decorated

with prophylactic signs and inscriptions. The light or fire of the lamp invites analogy with the celestial fires, hence decoration with forms of gods such as Sol and Luna, and with attributes and symbols such as stars and crescents. So too, for Christians, they may symbolize the Light of the World. They and their decoration may also symbolize the fire of love.

Proto-Etruscan Abecedarium.—In *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, serie sesta, ii (1926), pp. 492–520 (10 figs.), A. NEPPI MODONA treats of a proto-Etruscan abecedarium on a vase from Viterbo, in the shape of a cock with spherical-shaped body with rudely marked wings and scale-like feathers on the breast, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Modona compares this with other early Etruscan abecedaria and reproduces several of these alphabets. He concludes from the forms of many of the letters and from the full series of the sibilant signs, which he connects with their Phoenician originals, that the early Etruscan letters, at any rate, had no connection with the western or Chalcido-Cumean alphabet. The theory that the western alphabets were younger than the eastern he thinks very uncertain. He imagines that a large number of immigrants from Asia Minor brought the alphabet with them rather than that natives learned the letters from imported objects or from sailors and merchants. This would better account for the use of the full alphabet with many signs that were not used in representing Etruscan sounds.

The Roman Mile.—In *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxxxi (1926), pp. 213–244, AUGUST OXÉ writes of the Roman mile as a Greek invention. As Caesar probably used Greek engineers in bridging the Rhine, so Augustus and Agrippa used three Greek scientists in measuring the earth. The word *passus* (in *mille passus*), which the Romans understood as a “double step,” Oxé thinks was originally connected with *pando*, a stretch or a fathom (Greek. *δργυρία*). So, too, does Isidorus (*Metrol. Script.* II, 138. 12) explain it (doubtless from an older source): *passus etiam dicitur, quantum ambobus brachiis extensis inter longissimos digitos est*. The author discusses now existing mile-posts and the distances as marked on them. Smaller posts seem to have marked the stadia, in Latium ten to the mile, elsewhere originally eight. The Latium mile table would be: 1 mile = 10 stadia = 1.48 km.; 1 stadium = 100 passus = 148 m.; 1 passus = 1.48 m. The ordinary Italian stadium, 8 to the mile, measured 185 to 185.5 meters.

SCULPTURE

The “Anaglypha Traiani” in the Roman Forum.—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* xlv (1927), pp. 154–183 (7 figs.), WILLIAM SESTON discusses the “balustrades” with reliefs in the Forum Romanum. They cannot have been set up by Trajan, as is the generally accepted view, but must be associated with Hadrian’s policies at the beginning of his reign. Their original position was on two sides of the enclosure near the column of Phocas, in which, as Huelsen has suggested, were the three sacred trees and the statue of Marsyas. The slab with the representation of the burning of the debts stood on the side towards the *rostra aedis Divi Iulii*, that with the *alimenta* on the side towards the *rostra vetera*. The dimensions of the “balustrades,” and the marks on them and on what remains of the foundations of the wall of the enclosure, confirm this belief. These reliefs, commemorating the restoration of the sacred enclosure, were erected between 118 and 120 A.D., perhaps in 119.

PAINTING

Epichoric Elements in the South Italian Vase Painting.—In *Archaeologiai Értésítő*, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 11–37, MARGIT LANG considers the scenes on some of the South Italian vase paintings and points out how on the Apulian,

Campanian, and other wares certain details have persisted which are probably due to native custom instead of to Greek influence. Among these may be mentioned the purple stripe on some of the garments and the consequent use of less frequent colors in the design; the Oscan and Apulian headdresses in which the hair differs from that on similar Greek vases; toilet articles; footwear, etc. There are differences between the various wares, but it is still too early to try to find the connections between the wares and the origins of the native peculiarities in subject as well as in design.

Still-Life in Roman and Pompeian Wall Painting.—Still-life in Roman and Pompeian wall-painting,—its relation to Hellenistic art and to studio-pictures, its development and conventions, its likeness to still-life in modern art of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries and the difference of its aims,—is discussed by H. G. BEYER in connection with a piece of such painting in the National Museum, at Rome, which he endeavors, somewhat inconclusively, to assign to the second or the fourth Pompeian style. It comes from the house of Julia Felix in Pompeii, and belongs probably in the upper of the three sections of the wall, which it must have filled, with its height of 88 cm. inclusive of the stucco moulding at the bottom. In two long panels, one of them incomplete, we see standing on blocks or shelves of different heights, a deep bowl of transparent glass filled with fruits of various kinds, a smaller pottery jar filled with grapes, a sealed pithos leaning against the wall, a freshly killed fowl, a silver chalice filled with red wine, and some separate fruits, jar-covers, etc. The objects are painted chiefly in golden browns and soft greys, with purple for the grapes and a light blue background. They are all above life-size. The painting is in the naturalistic tradition, with finely blended tones and effects of light, but the objects shown belong to a prescribed list, limited by convention, and are arranged for a decorative rather than for a realistic effect. The date is probably in the time of Augustus. (*Jb. Arch. I.* xlii (1927) pt. 1/2, pp. 41–62; 5 figs.)

Three Silver Cups.—In *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, serie sesta, ii, pp. 301–320 (11 figs.), M. GUARDUCCI discusses three silver cups now in the museum at Bologna, found in 1832 at S. Domino. The cups are of different dimensions, from 6.4 cm. to 10.4 cm. in diameter, and originally showed traces of gold on the surface. After treating briefly of the two smaller ones, decorated with floral adornment in relief, he passes to a fuller discussion of the largest of the three. This is adorned with raised figures also: four masks lean against four altars, disposed at even intervals about the vase; between these are four animals, a deer, a lion, a bull, and a ram. The masks represent Pan, Silenus, and two Maenads; Bacchic thyrsi, syrinxes, etc., are also used in the decoration. Guarducci regards the vase as extremely important in tracing the history of the mask-frieze as a decorative element. He dates these cups in the first century B.C. and regards them as coming from Alexandria where the worship of Bacchus was peculiarly prevalent. He disagrees flatly with Drexel, who thinks that such mask-friezes are of later origin, in the time of the Flavian emperors, or a little earlier.

INSCRIPTIONS

A Tiburtine Inscription.—In *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, serie sesta, ii (1926), pp. 448–471 (2 figs.), L. CECI discusses the ancient Tiburtine inscription published in the *Notizie degli Scavi* (1926), p. 217, and beginning with the words: (m)ed mitat kapillor vigeđ. (A new reading and interpretation of this inscription had been given by Comparetti in the *Rend. Acc. Lincei* for this same year (p. 268 ff.), but this was unknown to Ceci until his article was ready for publication. He briefly states Comparetti's position in a footnote.) Ceci reads:

I. med [ulios] mitat kapi [dem] or kapi [des] or med [ulioe] or med [ulinoe] mita
[n] t

II. luor. ficed

III. ni [cidios] sφ eti [os]. s[tatom. d[atom]

IV. h [ercolei] vi[ktorei].

and interprets:

I. Medullius mittit capidem or capides or Medullii or Medullini mittunt

II. in delubrum or in dapem. Finxit

III. Nigidius Sphehtius or Nigidius, Sphehtius. Statum, datum

IV. Herculi Victori.

Ceci regards mitat as=mititat, comparing agito; he cannot explain a subjunctive mittat. Capidem is a vase or urn. Luor=delubrum or dapem. Ficed=finxit. Nigidius Sphehtius may refer to one or two individuals. The letter φ was used by Sphehtius as being a Greek potter. He dates the inscription in the sixth century B.C., regarding it on internal evidence as older than the Duenos inscription but younger than the Fibula Praenestina.

COINS

Copper Coinage of Selinus (Sicily).—OSCAR BERNHARD has made a study of the copper coinage of Selinus in *Schweiz. Numism. Rundschau* xxiv (1927), pp. 207–217. There is but one type of the struck coins, with head of Herakles on the obv. and bow and quiver on rev., which he would date shortly before the destruction of the city, in 409 B.C. After the destruction, a handful of people returned, and the place was resettled, but never again attained its former importance. It is to this later period that Bernhard would assign the few rare copper cast coins that have been discovered and attributed to this city. They bear the selinon leaf that is characteristic of the silver coins of earlier date.

Medallions of Constantine.—In *Mitteilungen f. Münzsammler*, No. 37, Frankf. am M., 1927, K. REGLING corrects the dating of two gold medallions of Constantine (Cohen, Nos. 117, 118,) assigned by Seeck and Maurice to the Gothic war of 332 A.D., to that of the year 323. The laurel wreath of the emperor and the technique point to the earlier date.

Monetary Art in Magna Graecia and in Sicily.—In *L'Acropole* ii (April–June, 1927), 2, 6, pp. 81–96, ARTHUR SAMBON discusses the above subject:—In contrast with Greek sculpture—usually viewed at poor second-hand in copies—the coins present the surest and most direct witness for the Greek sense of beauty. A distinction is drawn among siceliote, italiote, and indigenous arts in relation to those of Greece proper, the Isles, and Asia Minor. There were fairs held at religious festivals near the shrines themselves, where the bankers, who were often the local priests, struck off coins with the pictures of the patron divinity; there is thus an origin both from the state and from cult. The study made of the course of commerce in the Italiote Mediterranean, introducing good sections on the art of the coinage of the various districts of Italy in evolutionary development, presents a useful and stimulating summary of the art revealed in the numismatic material.

(1). Etruscan: the ablest merely copied the forms of Ionian coins, but is especially good in animals. (2). Campanian: the combination of Sabellian and Italiote art under Etruscan influence at the start and later under that of Alexandria. (3). Lucanian: again a combination of the Hellenic and the rude mountainous local type; later, Athenian refinement (“gem-like”—Poole). (4). Tarentine: its earliest is the best Italian work, originally Phalas on the Dolphin, etc.; later for about two centuries in honor of Dionysos and the Dioscuri, showing models of the Parthenon,

Pergamene sculptures, etc., with compelling spontaneity. (5). Bruttian: especially that of Crotona under the Praxitelean, Rhegium under the Scopajic influence. (6). Sicilian: the most homogeneous,—heraldic animals at first, then a development of five centuries under the influence of the great sculptors of Greece proper; a combination of local scenes of natural beauty with figures of the gods and athletes taken largely from the mainland of Greece.

This article furnishes in its brief compass an excellent summary of its subject. Some well chosen plates would have enhanced its value greatly.

Roman-Sicilian Coins.—M. VON BAHRFELDT has made a study of Roman-Sicilian coins of the time of the Republic in the *Schw. Numism. Rundschau* xxiv (1927), pp. 218 ff., that is supplementary to a similar study made by him in 1904 in the *Rev. Suisse Num.* xii, pp. 331 ff. In this later study he has availed himself of the intervening discoveries and brought the matter up to date.

FRANCE

The Calendar-Zodiac of the Western Portal of Chartres.—In *R. Arch.* xxvi (1927), pp. 207-232, LOUIS-EUGÈNE LEFÈVRE discusses the calendar and Zodiac of the western portal of Chartres. They occupy the two archivolts of the left-hand (north) door, two signs, *Gemini* and *Pisces*, being, for lack of room, transferred to the right-hand door. The calendar begins at the bottom of the inner row at the left with April, to which *Aries* corresponds. In the outer row are July, August, and September, with *Cancer*, *Leo*, and *Virgo*. At the right the outer row contains October, November, and December, with *Libra*, *Scorpio*, and *Sagittarius* (*Pisces* here omitted, as is *Gemini* which corresponds to June.) This arrangement puts the six months of fine weather at the left, the inclement months at the right. At Chartres until 1567 the civil year began in April, as did the ecclesiastical year. Inconsistencies in the correspondence of the months with the signs of the Zodiac in the Middle Ages are to be explained by the lack of correspondence between the solar and lunar years and by survival of ancient habits. The Zodiac of Chartres is the Zodiac of the cult of Mithra, and it is probable that it is a survival of the Mithraic tradition. In mediaeval calendars the Works of the Months do not always correspond with the same months, but the variations are due to the real differences in the climate of different regions. In an appendix the Calendar-Zodiac of Avallon is discussed. Here the solar and lunar years are intentionally treated separately, and the signs of the Zodiac are not arranged to correspond with the months. This portal and that of Vermenton show the influence of Chartres or (which amounts to the same thing) Étampes.

SWITZERLAND

Ancient Marbles.—In *L'Acropole* ii (Jan.-Mar., 1927), 1, 5, pp. 5-12 (1 pl.), W. DEONNA discusses certain ancient marbles in the Geneva Museum of Art and History (of which he is director). A male torso in the museum is assigned to a mutilated group in Rome representing Achilles and Penthesilea, a dedication by the kings of Pergamos (?). Of particular value and interest is a new head of Demosthenes (received in 1926) from Alexandria, "a copy of the first century of our era."

HUNGARY

Amphitheatrical Scenes on Stone Monuments at Intercisa.—In *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, new series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 122-136, STEFAN PAULOVICS discusses two reliefs, one of animals and one of a combat scene which have been discovered at Intercisa. It seems to be a work of the early fourth century A.D., and Paulovics

assigns the combat to the gladiatorial games. On the other hand, in a supplementary note Dr. Hekler denies this and suggests that we have a scene from the Trojan War.

Cultural Relations between Hungary and Silesia in the Older Bronze Age.—In *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, new series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 70-84, FRANZ V. TOMPA points out that the description of the Bronze Age given by Dr. Bolko Freiherr von Richthofen is, in general, true for Hungary as well as for Silesia. The cultures have the same general form. He differs from Richthofen chiefly in maintaining the existence of greater similarities in the pottery and in certain chronological data. The early Iron Age begins at about 1100 B.C. In general, Richthofen's work is very valuable.

Excavations at Szekesfehervar.—In *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, new series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 245-257, ARNOLD MAROSI reports the recent discovery at Szekesfehervar of 66 graves of the early Hungarian period which seem to indicate that the original Hungarians lived in small settlements. The swords from the Carolingian times are perhaps the most interesting remains found.

How Did the Gravestone of M. Herennius Pudens Reach Intercisa?—In *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, new series (1923-1926), pp. 114-121, LUDWIG NAGY discusses the above mentioned gravestone which has been supposed to come from Intercisa, a municipium. There is, however, no evidence supporting the belief that Intercisa was a municipium. Apparently the collegium cultorum was not at Intercisa. The reference is probably to the collegium in Aquincum from where the gravestone was sent to Intercisa. The stone probably is to be dated in the early years of the third century A.D.

Military Diploma of the Army of Lower Pannonia.—In *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, new series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 86-87, E. RITTERLING describes a diploma which is apparently of a member of the Cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum. He shows that the inscription refers to Lower Pannonia and not, as is usually explained, to Upper Pannonia.

Oldest Decorated Terra Sigillata Vases on Pannonian Soil in Hungary.—In *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, new series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 88-113, VALENTIN KÜZSINSZKY discusses several types of terra sigillata which have been discovered. He analyzes their forms and concludes that most of them were not of native origin. The specimens date from the first century onward.

A Roman Gravestone from Este.—In *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, new series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 57-59, F. DREXEL illustrates a Roman gravestone now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest and known from Este in the seventeenth century. It represents a bound prisoner before a tropaion and bears the word Silene. The figure seems to be a German, and probably dates from the first century B.C., the end of the Republic. At the same time the inscription rather indicates a slave. At any rate, we have here a new and interesting representation of a German.

Urn Field from the Bronze Age in Zagyvapalfalva near Salgotarjan.—In *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, new series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 60-69, EUGEN HILLEBRAND discusses the discovery of a series of urns at this site.

RUSSIA

Athenian White Lecythi.—In *Ath. Mitt.* li (1926), pp. 48-56 (5 pls.; 3 figs.), ANNA PEREDOLSKI publishes eight Athenian white lecythi now in the Hermitage. Of especial interest is the fact that one of these is an exact duplicate, although undoubtedly genuine, of a lecythus in Athens (Riezler, pl. 36; Pfuhl, fig. 543), which Beazley assigns to the Achilles master.

NORTHERN AFRICA

Latin Inscription from Carthage.—In *B. Arch. C. T.* (March, 1927), pp. 9–44, in an account of the meeting of the commission of North Africa, is presented a number of Latin inscriptions (and one Greek) from the region of Carthage, with provenience and restorations, comments, and general studies added. A convenient and up-to-date supplement for the epigraphy of that region is thus offered. The inscriptions have to do largely with personal names and the location of small sites, but all assist in recreating a picture of Roman Africa of the imperial period.

The Limes of Numidia and its Syrian Defenders.—In *Syria* vi (1925), pp. 30–57 (pl.; map), pp. 118–149, JÉRÔME CARCOPINO publishes in detail the result of a survey of evidences of Roman domination in the extreme south of ancient Numidia. "In general," says M. Carcopino, "the results of my local investigation extend and define more than they alter the conclusions I had drawn from the inscription of Doucen and the works already published on the ruins of this region. Collecting in Syria the troops they needed for the fulfillment of a vast programme, the Severi perhaps intended to carry their military frontier along the line of the Chotts and of Oued-Djedir as far as Messad. They did not have time to establish it there, and the *limes* which crosses that river between Saada and Drah-Remel, follows it from Drah-Remel to the borders of the oasis of Ouled-Djellal, and then leaves it to turn to the north, did not receive its organization until the reign of Gordian III (238–244), an organization which, thanks to the Syrians who defended this line after the close of the second century, it was to keep until the fall of the Empire." M. Carcopino naturally gives special attention to the epigraphical evidence. His discussion includes these special subjects: (1) the site of Doucen and the *fossatum Africae*; (2) Sadouri and the *limes* of the second line; (3) the arrival of the Syrian troops in the late Antonine period; (4) the crisis of the garrison and its reinforcement under Gordian III. M. Carcopino suggests that the strain of Syrian blood surviving in this part of Africa may have contributed to the assimilation of this territory in the Mohammedan invasion.

Sculptures and Sarcophagus.—In *B. Arch. C. T.*, May, 1927, pp. 12–15, in an account of the meeting of the commission of North Africa, L. POINSSOT presents three notes: (1) The fine relief of Serapis, Isis, and Harpocrates beside Dionysos entered at the Louvre in 1912 came from El-Attermine in Tunisia and not from Alexandria as declared by the sellers, but its material, white marble, would suggest that it was originally sculptured in Greece proper. (2) A report of two terra cotta heads of statuettes from the Karoubia, a head in red earth of the god Saeculum Frugiferum, and one in white earth, probably of the goddess Tanit, the latter much mutilated. (3) A large white marble sarcophagus from Thina, with finely treated sculptures in high relief, much damaged, representing a Roman sacrificial scene.

An inscription in the same number makes it appear that to the Emperor Gallienus is to be attributed the construction of the baths recently discovered at Volubilis.

Unpublished Monuments in the Museum at Lambèse.—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* xliv (1927), pp. 119–153 (10 figs.), RENÉ LUGAND publishes and discusses five monuments in the museum at Lambèse: (1). An altar bearing the inscription *deo . patrio . libero . patri* [conservatori . dominor(um) . nn[n]-(ostrorum) . augg[g](ustorum) . q(uintus) . ranius . cassianus trib(unus) . mil(itum) . leg(ionis) iii aug(ustae) . v(otum) . s(olvi) . l(ibens) a(nimo) . In line 4 an N has been erased, and in line 5 a G. The inscription must belong to the time of Septimius Severus when Caracalla and Geta were associated in power, i.e., between 209 and 212 A.D. Whether *Liber Pater* was *deus patrius* in the native place of Q. Rannius Cassianus or at Lambæsis remains uncertain. (2), (3). Two marble heads of Commodus, as a child and as a youth. The former of these is small and in bad condition, but

makes a better impression than the other, which is colossal and better preserved. Probably the former was carved in 166 A.D., when Commodus was made Caesar, the latter in 176, when Marcus Aurelius conferred upon him the title of Augustus. (4). A portrait of Julia Soaemias. This is a mediocre work, but the coiffure and the features, when compared with those on coins, make it certain that Julia Soaemias is represented. (5). A fragment of a relief representing the myth of Actaeon. Only a part of the figure of Diana is preserved. She is running to escape from sight. The attitude resembles that of the crouching Venus, but the form is rather that of Atalanta as represented in several monuments. (Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxv, 6.)

UNITED STATES

Eskimo Pictorial Art.—In *Mus. J.* (University of Pennsylvania), xviii, 3, pp. 248–283 (12 plates; 2 figs.), J. ALDEN MASON discusses Eskimo pictorial art as shown in native line-carving on local ivories. As this type of work, peculiar to the Eskimo of Alaska, “was not native to Eskimo art but . . . the initial incentive <was> supplied by contact with the first Russian colonists,” it falls outside the field of archaeology proper, but the article offers a good source of information on the subject. Many types of ivory instruments and trinkets are described and not a few beautifully illustrated.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Maya Civilization.—In *Mus. J.* (University of Pennsylvania) xviii, 4 (Dec., 1927), pp. 315–380 (18 pls.), J. ALDEN MASON discusses the Maya civilization. These people of Guatemala were probably the oldest of the higher civilizations of America, and were really more advanced in culture than the later Aztec and Incan peoples, who borrowed heavily from them. The Mayas had, however, passed their zenith when the Europeans first came to this continent. They alone of world peoples, says Dr. Mason, evolved a high civilization in a tropical environment, and that too without metal tools, wheeled vehicles, draught animals, or, so far at least as can be proved, any contact with the Old World. Their hieroglyphic system and their calendar were their greatest intellectual achievements. Much of their attainments, written in hieroglyphics on bark books was destroyed by the zeal of the Spanish priesthood, but some portion remains in the *Book of Chilam Balam* (in Roman characters), of which fourteen copies are known. From this comes our ability to correlate the Mayan calendar and ours, and to decipher, in a measure, some of the hieroglyphics. The system is discussed. Then follows a description of some of the great ruins with reference to the development of the civilization. The plates illustrate some of these ruins and also show some fine pottery described in the text, and forming part of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Collection.

EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE, AND MEDIAEVAL

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Circus and Astrology.—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* xlv (1927), pp. 184–209 (2 figs.), P. WUILLEUMIER discusses in considerable detail three Greek astrological texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries and their application to the factions of the circus in Rome, Africa, and Constantinople.

Icon Painting.—Knowledge of icon painting is still in its infancy. J. S. HAY and L. BOWER, in *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 8–14 (8 figs.), point out that Early Christian art was a compromise between Eastern realists and Hellenistic idealists, the tendency being to draw away from the Hellenistic naturalistic method toward rigid austerity and stiff decoration. However, in the fourteenth century, under the

Greek emperors, greater naturalistic expression was attained under the Athonic schools. Later, the Cretan school became influenced by the plasticity of the Italian painters, notably by Tintoretto and Veronese.

ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

A Painting at Dura and the Annunciation to the Shepherds.—Among the frescoes discovered at Dura is a pastoral scene, divided between an upper and a lower register, in which, interspersed among rudimentary trees, are the figures of shepherds. In the lower, better preserved, part of the picture, three stand in attitudes of astonishment or awe; a fourth figure sits on a heap of stones, the head supported on one hand, as in meditation. The significance is apparently religious. In *Syria* vii (1926), pp. 142-151 (3 pls.; 6 figs.), GABRIEL MILLET shows that manuscripts of the Gospels have preserved two types of representation of the Annunciation to the Shepherds. One is of *genre* character, and of Hellenistic origin. The other is more definitely religious, and exhibits figures in attitudes parallel to those of the Dura painting. The various motives of the Dura figures and even the ensemble may be traced in mediaeval ivories, manuscripts, and frescoes. The resemblance of the Christian objects cited to the fresco at Dura is another indication that the more religious type of iconography is derived from an Oriental source.

SYRIA AND PALESTINE

An Ancient Lock.—In the collection of the Louvre is a stone door of a tomb, discovered at Sour-Baher, near Jerusalem. The door was fastened with a bronze lock which has been studied by M. C. FRÉMONT of the School of Mines. M. RENÉ DUSSAUD reports that M. Frémont has reconstructed the original form of the lock and key, proving that the lock was an elaborate safety-device of a type not known in modern Europe before the end of the eighteenth century. The exact date of the Palestinian tomb is not known, but it belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era. (*Syria* vi, 1925), pp. 188-193, 4 figs.)

St. Thomas of Emesa and the Life of St. Martha.—In *Analecta Bollandiana* xlv (1927), 3, 4, P. PEETERS' article, "Saint Thomas d'Émèse et la Vie de Sainte Marthe," makes use of a bilingual (Syriac and Greek) inscription found (1902) at Krâd ad-Dâsinija (Emesa) to identify the St. Thomas mentioned by Evagrius, Moschus, and la Vie de Sainte Marthe with the St. Thomas commemorated in the Roman Martyrology under the date of November 18.

GREECE

Autograph Inscriptions at Temple of Sunium.—Of the four autograph inscriptions carved by ancient visitors to the temple at Sunium, and published by Lebas, only one is given its proper provenience in the corpus (*I. G. III*, 3824). In *Ath. Mitt.* li (1926), pp. 159-162, B. SNELL gives the results of his own examination of these inscriptions *in situ*. Lebas' Nos. 669 and 671 prove to be parts of the same inscription. The autographs belong to the early part of the Christian era; they show that the ancient traveler immortalized the name of a friend rather than emotions which a romantic spot awakened in himself.

Chapel of St. Basil.—In *Arch. Eph.*, 1924, pp. 1-26, G. A. SOTERIOS describes the small Byzantine chapel now known as St. Basil, situated 100 metres north of the present cathedral church of Thebes, and excavated by him in 1921-1922 for the Greek Archaeological Society. An inscription states that it was founded in 872 A.D. and was originally known as the Church of Gregory the Theolog. It consists of three parts: a rectangular room on the west unconnected with the nave, the nave proper, and three rooms south of the nave. The western part may have

been two stories high, the upper story surmounted by a dome, the lower serving as a crypt. The apse does not appear on the outside of the church, being concealed by a rectangular wall. A vaulted tomb was discovered beneath the floor of the nave; other interments had been made in the rooms to the south, some beneath the floor, others in sarcophagi. In plan the building may be an imitation of the royal chapels of Byzantine rulers. The excavation yielded many fragments of sculptured ornaments, which are studied in detail and compared with specimens of Byzantine ornament in the Museum of Thebes and other parts of Greece. As to technique, there is a preponderance of flat ornament, indicating, the author thinks, the influence of wood-carving or weaving. As to pattern, plant motives (ivy, acanthus, palmettes, and vine) are frequent. Geometric spirals and braided patterns are wanting. Animal forms occur but not as frequently as in the succeeding century. In general, the patterns are derived from old Christian ornament with some new themes from the East, brought, the writer believes, by Syrian traders.

The Paintings of Athos.—In *R. Arch.* xxvi (1927), pp. 274–278, GABRIEL MILLET discusses briefly the paintings of Mount Athos in connection with his recent publication (*Monuments de l'Athos . . . I. Les peintures*. Paris, Leroux, 1927. *Monuments de l'art Byzantin*, V). After giving an account of the circumstances under which his work was carried on with the aid of the French army, the French School at Athens, and the Greek government, he shows that the Cretan school of painters represents a return to the mystic and literary character of Byzantine art, as opposed to the relatively realistic spirit of the Macedonian school.

TURKEY

Inscriptions from Constantinople.—In *Byzantion* iii (1926) 1, pp. 305–309 (1 pl., 1 fig.), W. A. BUCKLER notes two inscriptions from Constantinople. The first, a marble discovered in 1912, but first noted in 1924, probably dates from the twelfth century. It is an epitaph, apparently for a whole cemetery collectively, and is with much probability assigned to the composing of John Tzetzes. The inscription is of interest as having correct accents and breathings throughout. A smaller, fragmentary inscription, apparently part of an icon frame, may have belonged to the church built by Michael Paleologus.

Mosaics in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.—In *Byzantion* iii (1926), 1, pp. 123–151 (3 pls.), N. MALICKIJ discusses the date of the mosaics in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, described by Mesarites. After passing in review the literature, particularly that by Heisenberg and by Bees, on the date of Eulalios (sixth or twelfth century), and the question as to whether he was painter or mosaicist, Malickij proceeds to discuss certain points of the problem. He believes Eulalios a contemporary of Prodhomos, that the Pantocrator in the cupola of the Holy Apostles was a restoration, the primitive original (*cf.* the central dome of St. Mark's, Venice) having been an Ascension. To support this latter view he adduces the miniatures in the Homilies of James Kokkinobaphos, as pointed out by Heisenberg. The scene of the Holy Women at the Tomb is referred to Byzantine, not to Palestinian, influence, on the basis of the composition, background, etc.; here Eulalios himself is portrayed mounting the guard. This type of composition is not general before the eleventh or twelfth century. The Greek Psalter of Chludov, in the Historical Museum of Moscow, is studied in this connection (Brit. Mus. 1066 is a “replica of the Bhludov”); but the author believes that its connection with our mosaics is far from certain. It is impossible to date all the mosaics by the description of Mesarites, but the evidence points to the twelfth rather than to the sixth century and tends to show that at

least the scenes having to do with the last events of the life of the Christ are from the hand of Eulalios.

ITALY

Church of St. Sebastian on the Appian Way.—In *Analecta Bollandiana* xlv (1927), 3, 4, H. DELEHAYE concludes his study, "Hagiographie et Archéologie romaines," with a description of the church of St. Sebastian on the Appian Way. This church formerly was dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul and the greater part of the article is therefore devoted to a discussion of the writings of those who have fought over the question—not without some archaeological interest—of the nature of the apostolic connection with this basilica.

The Epitaph of Saint Agatha on Mediaeval Bells.—In *R. Arch.* xxvi (1927), pp. 264–273, LOUIS BOITEUX shows that the inscription *mentem sanctam, spontaneam, honorem Deo et patriae liberationem* which appears on mediaeval church bells is derived from the epitaph of Saint Agatha. She was the protector, not only of Catania, but of all cities and buildings threatened by fire. This inscription on bells is common from 1239 to 1616, the period of Gothic architecture and of profound and naïve faith. The adjective *spontaneam* should be *spontaneum*, in agreement with *honorem*. The error is apparently due to the *Rationale dirinorum officiorum* of Guillaume Durand (died 1296), VII, vi.

FLORENCE.—**The Chatelaine of Vergy.**—In *Gaz. B.-A.* xv (1927), pp. 183–189, (2 figs.), W. BOMBE identifies the frescoes uncovered at the restoration of the Davizzi-Davanzati Palace as a portrayal of the story of the Chatelaine of Vergy, a common theme in France and elsewhere after 1280. The tale itself is retold.

A Norman Church in Eastern Sicily.—In *L'Arte* xxx (1927), pp. 227–236 (3 pls.), A. CUTRERA describes the church of SS. Pietro e Paolo on the Agro ravine near Santa Teresa di Riva (Eastern Sicily). This building is a typical example of a Norman church with polychromatic decoration and was constructed around 1172 by Gherardo il Franco, whose signature may still be seen on the lintel of the main door.

Santa Maria in Vescovio (Sabina).—**A Series of Frescoes of the Early Roman School.**—In *Boll. d'Arte* vii (1927), pp. 3–30 (26 pls.), R. VAN MARLE again takes up the discussion of the frescoes in the cathedral of Santa Maria in Vescovio, consisting of thirty-two scenes from the Old and the New Testament. By a comparison with all contemporary frescoes of the same subjects, and especially with those in the Upper Church at Assisi, the author connects the series in the Sabine cathedral with the Roman School, dating it at about 1275, at least fifteen years earlier than Cavallini's lost frescoes of the same subjects in S. Cecilia in Rome. Van Marle convincingly points out that in all probability we are here in the presence of Cavallini's earliest teacher.

SARZANA.—**Crucifix of Guilielmus.**—In *Burl. Mag.* l (1927), pp. 162–177 (11 figs.), G. M. RICHTER describes a twelfth-century crucifix in Sarzana on the Ligurian coast. The crucifix was deemed miraculous and, to preserve it, was covered by an altarpiece in 1715 by Cardinal Casone. The altarpiece has been removed recently and the crucifix may now be seen. It is a tempera painting on a thick walnut panel, is signed by Guilielmus, and dated 1138. Later crucifixes which have survived depend upon this one for form and spiritual content and thus argue for a local school at Lucca in the twelfth or even the eleventh century. Similar schools may have existed in such towns as Rome, Spoleto, Siena, Pisa, and Milan.

FRANCE

The Church of Wast in Boulogne.—The remains of the Chuniac priory at Wast are described by C. ENLART in *Gaz. B.-A.* xvi (1927), pp. 1–11 (8 figs.). Wast

was ruined by the Hundred Years War, and very little remains except a round-arched door, the site of the cloisters, a Romanesque holy water basin, a tomb statue, and four colonnades. There is a statue of the Woman of the Apocalypse with the Beast, the latter mentioned as having seven crowned heads, but here represented as a natural lion. She has a veil on her head arranged in Byzantine-like folds, and a child at her breast. The beast is on her back, biting at one ear. The door at Wast resembles those in the Île-de-France and in Normandy. The archivolt is decorated with two rows of saw teeth resembling that of the gate Bab-el-Foutouh in Cairo (1087-1091), with the difference that in Cairo the teeth are of the same length throughout, while at Wast they are shorter at the base of the arch than at the top. It is possible that the master of works who accompanied Eustache III to Syria may have seen one like it and reproduced it at Wast, or he may have gone to Cairo itself with the delegation of Pierre le Chambrier to Calif Afdal in 1095.

HUNGARY

Dragon Representations in the Hungarian Monuments of the Migration Period.—In *Archaeologiai Értésítő*, new series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 157-172, FERDINAND FETTICH discusses the various types of dragons which are found not merely in Hungary but also in Germany and in Russia. Those in Hungary seem to come from the Avar graves and date from the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The type with open mouth and ribbed body is common and these types have led to a development of Scythian art in these countries. The exact source of the idea is still unknown.

The Slavonic Question in the Early Mediaeval Archaeology of Hungary.—In *Archaeologiai Értésítő*, new series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 138-156, BOLKO FREIHERR VON RICHTHOFEN examines the arguments of Niederle as to the existence of a Slavonic population in Hungary in the sixth to the ninth century. He disagrees very decidedly with the theories of Niederle and points out that many of the finds are of doubtful Slavonic origin. For example, the wave-line decoration for pottery is not Slavonic. In fact, he concludes that, despite the political and propaganda work, there have been no serious traces of the Slav in this area discovered before the ninth century.

DENMARK

Coins of Birka.—In *Fornvännen*, 1926, pp. 307-334, SUNE LINDQUIST discusses certain coins which have been attributed by some investigators to Björkö, Birka, and by others to Hedeby. These are unquestionably the earliest coins of the North. According to the place of discovery, they are classified as group I a: the earliest imitations of Carolingian coins and such as partly or wholly bear independent images. Group I b: coins which differ because of additional images, *i.e.*, faces of men and triquetra. Group 2: coins which represent motives of sceattas. Then there is a group of hybrids.

The coins of group I a have never been found together with those of other groups. This would tend to show that coins of group I b and 2 are partly contemporary and therefore belong to a later time than those of group I a.

Of group I a, 16 coins have been found at Krinkberg near Itzenhoe, Holstein, together with 80 genuine Frankish coins from the time of Charles the Great. A similar smaller coin is in the collection at Jäderén, Norway (ninth century). Two have been found at Hedeby. In Björkö, such coins have been found in graves No. 525 and 168 (early ninth century). Graves No. 526 and 646 contained coins of group I a with independent stamping. No coins of the latter type either of group I a or I b have been found outside of the Scandinavian peninsula. Their

more limited circulation may be due to the fact that they were less adapted to international use than the pure imitations of the Dorstat coins. The position of their eyes shows that on account of their purely Nordic images they were valued as ornaments. The author, therefore, rejects the often emphasized notion that Birka coins were regularly used as ornaments, and this on the ground that the coins in question were not struck in this locality. Furthermore, he maintains that, for various reasons, this was not the custom at this time in the Viking era. Two coins in group 2 are particularly clarifying in this connection. The collections in which they are found all belong to the tenth or eleventh century. Also, the majority of the coins found in graves in Björkö and which have been used as ornaments, were placed in the graves during the first half of the tenth century. But in the same graves, coins have also been found which belong to an earlier period in the ninth century.

The author considers, therefore, that H. Hildebrand's term, Björkö or Birka coins, for the earliest coins of the North, is less incautious than that of F. Hauberg and others, who use the name Hedeby coins.

In closing the author once more emphasizes, on the basis of his investigation, that there is nothing to prove that Schleswig or Hedeby should be considered the place of coinage of the oldest coins of the Scandinavian North. The Björkö graves (No. 508, 526, and 646), and their contents seem to the author at least as good an argument in favor of Birka as the Krinkberg find ever could be for Hedeby.

Hedeby and Birka.—In *Fornvännen*, 1926, pp. 1–26, SUNE LINDQUIST writes about the excavations during the seventies of the last century in the island of Björkö, which have demonstrated that Birka, discussed in the Ansgar chronicles of Rimbert, was situated in the above-mentioned island. Its town plan, surrounded by extensive burial fields, constitutes a rich complex of antiquity. Yet the science of archaeology has long hesitated to come to a conclusion as to what extent we should judge by it of the standards of culture during the Viking period.

The origin of Birka was first discussed in detail by Knut Stjerna in 1909. He endeavored to prove that the town was a Frisian colony. His chief argument was that the Svear of the time did not have a culture considerable enough to found such a trading place. Numismatists have also held that the coins struck in the ninth century—now considered genuinely Nordic and the oldest in the North—could not have been produced in the North, but that they originated in the town of Schleswig or Hedeby, south Jutland.

Such arguments were based on the knowledge of conditions at the time of the introduction of Christianity in the North. Denmark was at that time the leading country. The rich ornamentation of the runic stones which flourished in Sweden during the eleventh century may naturally be traced back to the earlier Danish style of ornamentation.

If, on the other hand, we turn to the North during the seventh century, we look in vain within Danish territory for a corresponding parallel of the high culture of Uppland and Gotland, both of which clearly show connections with western Europe. An estimate of mutual relations between Swedish and Danish culture during the ninth and tenth centuries—the golden era of Birka—cannot, therefore, be worked out on analogical conclusions. The indigenous material must be resorted to.

When the Danish king, Godfred, founded the oldest Danevirke at the beginning of the ninth century, and when Ansgar 50 years later set up a permanent mission in this region, Schleswig, on the northern side of the Schlei (Slien) was a Danish town. The territory south of the Schlei was probably sparsely populated. The new town, founded about 900, near Haddeby Nor, was not originally, according to Danish archaeologists, a Danish town. In its layout it closely resembles Birka,

but on the other hand, Hedeby was scarcely of the same dimensions as Birka. During the tenth century it was ruled over by a princely Swedish house. Proof of this is a runic stone the inscription of which mentions a member of the family (Sigtrygg). That of Gottorp, near Schleswig, has a Danish inscription.

The realm of Gnupa, the Swede, seems according to a nearly contemporary source to have embraced Hedeby as well as the Abodritic territory situated to the south-east. The same is true of the bishopric over which Marco presided about 950.

Hedeby is, therefore, to be considered a Swedish settlement, at first a colony of Birka, fully analogical to the Swedish colonies in Russia. Its position close to the Danish boundary was only possible at a time when the unity and strength of the Danish kingdom was negligible.

The early period of the tenth century is, furthermore, a very obscure period in Danish history. After the reconstruction of the kingdom, the power of Gnupa was seriously threatened, but it would seem from certain sources that he succeeded in maintaining his position because of his relations of vassal to Henry I. In that manner, the new possibilities of missionary activities in Denmark and Birka were created, of which, as we know, Archbishop Unne immediately availed himself.

In all probability, Hedeby retained its independence until about 995, when Sven Tveskägg (Forked Beard) besieged the town. During the eleventh century, Schleswig took over Hedeby's rôle as a trading center, as a bishopric, and a place of coinage. The inhabitants of the region seem to have regarded the Golden Era of Schleswig as a continuation of the traditions of Hedeby. On the other hand, however, those who had no deeper insight into the local differences which obtained during the tenth century had every reason to identify Hedeby with the Schleswig known from the time of Ansgar. Hence, Hedeby in the time of its prime was often called Schlesien by outsiders, just as Schleswig after its revival of prosperity was spoken of as Hedeby by the population of the adjacent country.

It is therefore quite as natural that Eccehard, who was, as it would seem, exiled by the king of Denmark, at a German episcopal conference in the year 1000 named himself bishop of Hedeby, as one of his predecessors half a century earlier had preferred to style himself bishop of Schleswig. Hedeby was probably the residence of both of them.

The so-called half bracteates which were struck here during the tenth century were naturally imitations of the earlier coins of the Swedish mother-town.

Schleswig and Birka.—In *Fornvännen*, 1926, pp. 245–265, SUNE LINDQUIST discusses Birka of the ninth century and Schleswig. A new view is brought forward, according to which the town is supposed to have existed within the semi-circular walls at Haddeby Nor about 800. As sufficient evidence for this theory is lacking, the author bases his argument on the research work of Müller and Neergaard in *Nordiske Fortidsminder i*, to the effect that the only existing seaport town of the ninth century in this region was Schleswig, north of the Schlei.

As Schleswig, in contradistinction to Birka, has not yielded any significant archaeological material from this time, the comparison must be limited to an attempt to show what part each of the two towns according to extant documents played in the history of missions of that period.

Ebo's journey in 823 and that of Ansgar in 826–827 probably were of the greatest importance as journeys of orientation. After Ansgar had been in the service of Harald, exiled Danish petty king, he was commanded to go to Birka. Through negotiations between Ludwig the Pious and the King of Sweden, the permanent central mission in Sweden was realized. The plans for the setting up of a corresponding central in Denmark succeeded only two decades later, according to the

Vita Ansgarii, and long after the Svear had received Gautbert as their bishop. The events seem to show clearly that Birka of the ninth century, despite the great distance, was of greater importance for the mission than Schleswig.

It is of significance that Ansgar became archbishop only after the first journey to Birka. At the same time he received the commission, besides Ebo of Rheims, to be papal legate to the "Svear, Danes, and other peoples of the North." It is also of interest to know that Ebo, who held the more prominent position and formerly had held the commission, seems to have reserved the leadership of the Swedish and handed over the work in Denmark to Ansgar. Furthermore, it is plain from the *Vita Ansgarii* that more was done for the Swedish mission during Ansgar's time than for the Danish.

The town of Schleswig was probably founded by King Godfrid in 808. It seems to have reached its highest development during the middle of the century. Consequently it is scarcely probable that the town equalled Birka in the ninth century either with reference to age or general importance.

SWEDEN

Thing-steads in Sweden in Prehistoric Times and in the Middle Ages.—In *Forwännen*, 1926, pp. 211-230, F. WILDT writes about the above subject.

Our knowledge about the prehistoric thing-steads must of necessity be very incomplete. The things were held under the open sky, most often in localities adapted to large meetings. That places consecrated to worship were used, seems improbable. Archaeologists are of the opinion that the places marked by stones set up in a circle, *domareringar*, which largely belong to the Iron Age, indicate thing-steads. There are many reasons to warrant the belief, however, that such *domareringar* originally had some other function.

Particularly favored thing-steads in prehistoric time as well as in the Middle Ages were natural elevations adapted to popular assemblies or barrows, where the speaker occupied the central position and the people could group themselves round about. Many such thing-steads where assemblies were held in the mediaeval period are known.

Mediaeval sources furnish positive foundations for the study of thing-steads, but do not enable investigators to reach final conclusions. The oldest documents are the runic stones of the eleventh century. From the State Laws of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we can conclude that things since time immemorial were held in definite localities and at stated times. A certain number of people were bound to attend in order that the proceedings be legal. But little is said as to these localities. It is to be assumed, however, that the assemblies were held in settled parts of the country, near churches (temples) and trading places. Many of the large centers of the present time were, no doubt, at one time thing-steads.

Already in the fifteenth century, most assemblies were held within doors, *i.e.*, in the vestries of churches and town halls. Special court houses were not erected until about 1600. In the country at large the assemblies continued for generations to be conducted out of doors, until finally by acts of legislation, the government directed the people concerned to build permanent court houses in specifically designated localities.

JUGOSLAVIA

Some Ancient Frescoes of the Monastery of Nerez.—In *Slavia* (Prague) vi, pp. 603-609 (6 pls.), NICOLAS OKOUNEFF discusses some frescoes discovered in the Church of St. Pantalemon in the Monastery of Nerez near Skoplje in Jugoslavia. These frescoes can be dated in 1164 and are important since they are among the

earliest examples of Byzantine art in which the painters have tried to represent deep personal emotion. Thus in the scenes of the Descent from the Cross and the Deposition in the Tomb, the Blessed Virgin is represented as kissing the body of Christ. There is also in the series a representation of the preparation of Christ for burial. In general these frescoes from the twelfth century contain many details that are often assumed to be the introduction of Italian art in the thirteenth century and help us to see that there was an uninterrupted evolution of forms of art within the Balkan peninsula extending into the fourteenth century, and that we can look there for many of the features that are considered to characterize the Italian Renaissance.

GREAT BRITAIN

LONDON.—**Henry III's Goldsmith.**—In *Burl. Mag.* l (1927), pp. 189–195, J. G. NOPPEN reports extracts from various documents citing commissions executed by William of Gloucester, goldsmith to King Henry III. He was first mentioned as being King's goldsmith on December 6, 1252, and he evidently had charge of the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury and the mint. He was special royal treasurer as well as a practical craftsman. He made a tomb, over which were laid silver plates, for Lady Katherine, the daughter of King Henry III, who died in 1258; also, a costly altar-frontal, for which gold thread, colored silks, large and small pearls, and enamels were purchased; and finally, he probably made the costly images pawned in 1267. William died in 1268 or 1269. Nothing of his work remains, but it had a powerful effect during the thirteenth century.

Sculpture at Westminster.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 79–80 (2 pls.), J. G. NOPPEN illustrates and describes the carved heads (six in number) and foliated capitals of the uppermost stage of St. Andrew's Chapel, Westminster. This form of decoration was derived from Amiens. The main transept head may represent Master Henry, the mason from the beginning of the church until 1253. The best preserved head perhaps is a portrait of John of Gloucester who succeeded Henry as the King's chief mason. Professor Lethaby has suggested Master John of St. Albans, "Sculptor of the King's Images," who was head of the School of St. Albans, as the sculptor who superintended the work and inspired such work as he did not do himself.

NORTHERN AFRICA

A Church and Reliquary in Algeria.—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* xlv (1927), pp. 103–118 (pl.; 3 figs.), JEAN GAGÉ describes a small church about five kilometres from Corneille, at the village of Ksar-Belezma. This region belonged in Roman times probably to the colony of Lamasba. The church was only about 16 m. in length, inclusive of the apse, and was poorly built, in part of re-used stones. Its date is about the middle of the fifth century. Of the interior columns only the foundations remain. Over the main entrance, which was in the north side at its west end, was an arch, the keystone of which bore on its face the inscription *ex officina Donati* and on its under side the Constantinian monogram of Christ. In front of the church and not connected with it was, the baptismal font, approached by steps from its four sides. Within the church, in a hollow in the foundations of the altar, was a reliquary in the form of a simple covered jar (marmite) of terracotta. The cover is decorated with a linear pattern in red, and the jar itself bears two inscriptions: *ecce locus inquirendi d(omi)n(u)m ex toto corde amen* $\chi\rho(ist)e$ and *in isto vaso s(an)c(t)o congregabuntur membra* $\chi(rist)i$. Within the vase was only dust. The expression *membra Christi* appears to be derived from St. Paul (I Cor. xii, 27) and was applied by St. Ambrose especially to the saints. Perhaps the

dust in the vase came from the grave or graves of a martyr or martyrs. The little church was catholic, not heretical, and the inscriptions on the reliquary call upon the believers to worship Christ in the relics of the saints.

RENAISSANCE

ITALY

Allegorical Figures by Francesco Guardi.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 254–257 (2 pls.), D. VON HADELN publishes two paintings, Summer, and Spring, signed by Francesco Guardi, acquired from the Huntington Collection by Mr. Ringling for his Museum at Sarasota (Mexico). Guardi's interest in figure composition was recently pointed out by G. Fiocco.

Baptism by Francesco Francia.—D. VON HADELN in *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 113–114 (2 figs.), traces the Baptism by Francesco Francia, now owned by Mr. Albert Keller of New York, to the predella of the Felicini Madonna painted in 1494. The size, the detail, the style, link the Baptism to another panel, the Birth of Christ, by Francia, now in the Glasgow Gallery. The Birth and the Baptism are the only two panels which remain of the predella ordered by Felicini.

Bartolommeo Schedoni.—In *L'Arte*, 1927, pp. 105–116 (9 pls.), V. MOSCHINI contributes an article toward the better understanding of Schedoni by tracing and exemplifying the various stages of his development. After analyzing the Modenese, the Caravaggesque, and the Venetian periods of the painter, Moschini concludes that Schedoni showed throughout his career a constant tendency to renew himself but that he never ceased studying Correggio. The school of the Carraccis stifled the possibility of a further development of Schedoni's art in Emilia; nevertheless, the Modenese artist may be pointed out as the most interesting renovator in the field of color at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Caravaggio.—In *Burl. Mag.* l (1927), pp. 181–187 (3 figs.), H. VOSS attributes a Portrait of a Lady, belonging to Dr. Hans Schaeffer, to Caravaggio, claiming it as an early work of the painter. The portrait has formerly been attributed to Sofonisba Anguisciola.

A Casa Pirotta Plate.—In *Faenza* xv (1927), pp. 18–20 (2 pls.), G. BALLARDINI publishes a Pirotta plate in the possession of Dr. E. Vandelli of Bologna and compares it with a very similar dish shown by Delange in his *Recueil de faïences italiennes*. In studying the characteristics of these two pieces he contributes several points toward the better understanding of the ceramics produced by the well-known Pirotta factory in Faenza.

A Collection of Bologna Pottery.—In *Faenza* xv (1927), pp. 12–16 (3 pls.), M. DI LONGARA publishes some pieces of faïence from the Donini Collection, recently transferred from Bologna to Leipsic. He also studies the origin and date of the Bologna pottery in the Victoria and Albert Museum discussed by W. B. Honey in his article in the *Burl. Mag.* for May, 1926. These pieces, together with evidence collected during recent excavations in Bologna, give sufficient proof of the fact that pottery factories existed in this city ever since 1470. The definite Cossa influence to be detected in early Bolognese pottery shows that the factories could obtain the coöperation of the best artists of the epoch and could successfully compete with the more celebrated ceramic works of Ferrara.

Decorations by Polidoro da Caravaggio in Rome.—To *L'Arte* xxx (1927), pp. 189–213 (15 pls.), C. PASCIOTTI contributes an article on Polidoro da Caravaggio. His decorative paintings are relisted and separated from those of his fellow workers.

Four Portraits in the National Gallery.—In the National Gallery are four portraits attributed to Antonello and later analyzed by Berenson as by Vivarini.

However, H. C. BAKER, in *Burl. Mag.* l (1927), pp. 23-27 (2 pls.), tries to prove that only one of these is by Vivarini, another by an unknown follower of Bellini, and the other two by G. Bellini himself.

Francesco Crassia.—In *L'Arte* xxx (1927), pp. 87-96 (5 pls.), L. L. LOPRESTI gives an account of the works of the sculptor Francesco Crassia of Palermo, who flourished in Rome during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Giorgionesque Portraiture.—In *Burl. Mag.* l (1927), pp. 202-209 (3 figs.), J. S. TAYLOR questions the attribution of a picture to Titian, made by Signor Fiocco in *Burl. Mag.* for October, 1924. The painting is described, an attempt made to identify the portraits, and the canvas attributed to the school of Giorgione.

Giovanni Bellini.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 187-189 (3 figs.), W. SUIDA attributes four paintings to Giovanni Bellini. Three of these are portraits; one is in the store-rooms of the National Gallery and was formerly attributed to Alvise Vivarini; one of a young man in a black jacket and cap, which is signed by the painter; and a portrait of a man which is in the Imperial Gallery in Vienna. The martyrdom of St. Mark in the Venice Academy is also attributed to Giovanni Bellini except for a group of portraits which are the work of Vittore Bellini.

Giovanni da Udine.—In *L'Arte* xxx (1927), pp. 151-171 (13 pls.), A. GHIDIGLIA gives a new inventory and description of the works of Giovanni da Udine in the Vatican and in the Villa Madama. She traces his career and defines his style, differentiating it from that of his contemporaries. Giovanni da Udine is the only painter of Raphael's school who really lived an artistic life of his own, though he appeared to lose himself after Raphael's death.

Giusto Padovano.—In *L'Arte* xxx (1927), pp. 49-61 (9 pls.), M. C. LORENZETTI connects three little panels in the Correr Museum representing God the Father and Scenes from the Apocalypse with two fragments dealing with the same subject which have recently been returned to Venice from the Imperial Gallery in Vienna. Miss Lorenzetti compares the Apocalypse panels, obviously of the Paduan School of the late Trecento, with the frescoes of the same subject in the chapel of the Paduan Baptistery, commonly attributed to Giusto Padovano. Iconographically and stylistically the two series appear to be by the same hand, and Miss Lorenzetti concludes that the fragments in Venice belong to an altarpiece, possibly for the church of Torcello, in which Giusto Padovano repeated the subjects frescoed in the Paduan Baptistery.

The Keglevich Collection.—In *Burl. Mag.* l (1927), pp. 183-189 (3 figs.), G. DE TÉREY describes four almost unknown pictures in the collection of Count George Keglevich in Budapest. These consist of a Madonna and Child with St. George and an Angel of the school of Leonardo, a Virgin and Child with St. John by Bartolommeo Veneto, a portrait of a Young Lady by Palma Vecchio, and a Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John attributed to Filippino Lippi.

A Leading Sieneſe of the Quattrocento.—In *Burl. Mag.* l (1927), pp. 35-36 (2 pls.), L. DUSSLER publishes a picture by G. di Paolo to show that the painter did not accept the formal types and conceptions of the leading Sieneſe trecentists.

Notes on Minor Florentine Painters of the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century.—In *Boll. d'Arte* vi (1927), pp. 529-549 (21 pls.), G. DE FRANCOVICH makes further attributions to certain minor masters of the Florentine school and attempts a more exact dating of their work. She takes up the S. Miniato Master and Fra Giuliano, a pupil of Domenico Ghirlandaio. She endeavors to look further into the personality of Jacopo del Tedesco and discusses the Umbrian period of Bartolommeo di Giovanni. Finally, she attributes to Benedetto Ghirlandaio, in his Verrocchiesque period, a Madonna and Child in the Goudstikker Collection at Amsterdam.

Paintings by Bonfigli and Caporali.—In *L'Arte* xxx (1927), pp. 86–88 (2 pls.), A. VENTURI publishes a painting by Bonfigli in the possession of Baron Lazzaroni in Rome and a Madonna and Child by Bartolommeo Caporali in the possession of Avv. Fabrizi in Rome.

Panels by a Follower of Pietro Cavallini.—In *Burl. Mag.* li, pp. 259–261 (4 pls.), O. SIREN attributes to a follower of Pietro Cavallini two panels in a private collection in Munich representing the Virgin and St. John. The Roman origin of these paintings is shown by a comparison with the frescoes in Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples and their chief interest lies in the fact that no other panels are known which show so strong an affinity with Pietro Cavallini and his followers.

Perugino's Artistic Inheritances.—In *Gaz. B.-A.* xv (1927), pp. 1–16 (9 figs.), J. ALAZARD identifies several influences to be noticed in Perugino's work. He describes the Siense influence of Fra Angelico, Benozzo Gozzoli, the Lippi, and Veneziano, and the Florentine influence of the Pollaiuoli, Verrochio, and Signorelli.

Portrait by Gentile Bellini.—In *L'Arte* xxx (1927), pp. 1–2 (1 pl.), A. VENTURI publishes the portrait of Andrea Vendramin by Gentile Bellini which in 1926 was in Mr. Douglas' collection in London. It is inscribed with the date 1476, which coincides with Gentile's activity in the Ducal Palace.

Portrait by Tintoretto.—In *L'Arte* xxx (1927), pp. 84–85, M. PITTALUGA attributes to Tintoretto a portrait of a young man in the Volterra Gallery. The authenticity of the painting is confirmed by the mention of a similar portrait in Ridolfi's *Le Meraviglie dell'Arte*. By comparison with the St. Mark series in the Brera, Milan, this portrait may be dated around 1560.

A Preparatory Version of Titian's Trinity.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 53–59 (3 pls.), C. HOLMES publishes a Trinity which he considers the "Modello" for Titian's Trinity in the Prado.

The Reliefs of the Seven Sacraments on the Campanile at Florence.—In *L'Arte* xxx (1927), pp. 214–223 (10 pls.), L. BECHERUCCI ascribes to Alberto Arnoldi the heretofore unattributed reliefs which decorate the second zone of the Florentine Campanile on the north side, above the hexagons by Andrea Pisano and Luca della Robbia. The author of the reliefs of the Seven Sacraments took from Andrea Pisano his gift of clear composition, from Nino Pisano and Orcagna his treatment of surfaces and his oblong figures, and from the Romanesque sculptors his precise geometrical values and his plastic solidity. It is known that Alberto Arnoldi in 1361 finished the Madonna in a lunette over one of the smaller doors of the Baptistery. By him also is a Madonna between Two Angels in the Oratorio del Bigallo. A close study of these works, coupled with documents proving Arnoldi's participation in the Opera del Duomo, confirm Miss Becherucci's present attribution.

A Self-Portrait of Rembrandt.—*Gaz. B.-A.* xvi (1927), pp. 43–50 (3 figs.), A.-C. COPPIER publishes a portrait of Rembrandt which represents the artist as being about forty-five years old and which M. Coppier attributes to the painter himself on scientific grounds. The method of preparing the canvas and the ingredients of the paint mixtures are found to correspond with those of the authentic works of the artist.

The Stanza della Segnatura.—In *L'Arte* xxx (1927), pp. 170–186 (15 pls.), M. T. TOZZI proves the truth of Vasari's statement that the purely decorative part of the vault of the Stanza della Segnatura is by Sodoma. During the course of the article Miss Tozzi makes an exhaustive study of Sodoma's decorative works.

A St. Francis by Raphael.—In *L'Arte* xxx, pp. 80–83 (5 pls.), A. VENTURI attributes to Raphael a small St. Francis in the Dresden Museum and connects this painting with the St. Anthony and a Franciscan Saint at Dulwich

College, London. The three small panels were probably part of the predella in Raphael's St. Anthony altarpiece now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

St. Jerome by Mantegna.—In *L'Arte* xxx pp. 31-33 (1 pl.), L. VENTURI publishes and analyzes a St. Jerome in the possession of Mr. Otto Kahn, New York. This painting may be considered the first known work by Mantegna.

Three Pictures in the Pennsylvania Museum.—In *Burl. Mag.* l, 1927, pp. 3-7 (3 figs.), O. SIREN calls attention to three pictures in the Pennsylvania Museum: the Visitation, by Andrea di Niccolo; Portrait of a Lady, by A. Araldi; and Lady with her Three Sons, by Parmigianino. The very modest artistic merits of the first two works make them hardly worth discussion, except for comparison with the third. Parmigianino does not conventionalize his characters, but penetrates into the thoughts of the sitter and produces living personalities.

Three Views of Rome.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 325-332, J. TOMBU studies the views of Rome to be observed in the backgrounds of three Flemish paintings: St. Rombout Taking Leave of Pope Stephen II, by Colijn de Coter, and St. Romold Renouncing his Bishopric, both in the church of St. Rombout in Malines, and St. Roch Kneeling before the Pope, dated 1517, in the church of St. Jacques at Antwerp. The backgrounds of these works are compared with contemporary maps and plans of Rome and special attention is given to the architecture of St. Peter's.

Tintoretto's Technique.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), p. 55 (1 pl.), W. M. MILIKEN discusses the technique of Jacopo Tintoretto as revealed in his Madonna and Child, a representative picture, in perfect condition of pigment, formerly in the collection of Baron Alfred de Rothschild and recently acquired by the Cleveland Museum. This picture is assigned to Tintoretto's middle period (1570-1580). The composition, the linear rhythms and forms, and the subsequent addition of color in three primaries greyed throughout are the artist's own inventions. The technique of this picture supports the view that Tintoretto is the most modern of old masters in form as well as color, the origin of that tradition which leads to El Greco and Velasquez and from El Greco to Cezanne.

A Tondo from the School of Raphael.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 86-91, W. SUIDA publishes and describes a remarkable picture in the possession of Sig. E. Sardi, Milan, God the Father Accompanied by an Angel. It is the work of the Roman School under the immediate influence of Michelangelo's and Raphael's creations. The color harmonies suggest the work of a Florentine, such as Penni, il Fattore,

Triptych by Marco Zoppo.—In *L'Arte* iii (1927), pp. 62-63 (2 pls.), A. VENTURI publishes a panel in the Dublin Gallery representing Sts. Mark and Augustine generally attributed to Giusto di Andrea and a panel of the same shape in the gallery in Edinburgh representing Sts. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. According to Venturi, both panels were part of a triptych by the weak painter Marco Zoppo di Squarcione.

Two Sketches by Tintoretto.—L. DUSSLER, in *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), p. 32 (2 figs.), publishes two sketches by Tintoretto, one of Samson and two defeated Philistines, the other of a reclining female nude. The purpose is to show the master's pureness of modeling, vibrant sensitiveness of line, and magnificent draughtsmanship.

An Unknown Painting by Antonio da Saliba.—In *Boll. d'Arte* vi (1927), pp. 556-565 (7 pls.), E. S. VAVALÀ ascribes to Antonio da Saliba a Madonna and Child in the Museo Civico of Verona assigned by Berenson to Mechele da Verona. The painting appears to be an early work of Antonio da Saliba and it shows mingled reminiscences of Antonello da Messina and Giovanni Bellini.

An Unknown Titian.—In *L'Arte* xxx (1927), pp. 105-116, A. VENTURI attributes

to Titian a much damaged picture in the Pitti Palace representing Samson killing the Philistine.

Villa Medici.—F. BOYER, in *Révue de l'art ancien et moderne* li (1927), pp. 2-14 (6 figs.), relates from original documents the building of the Villa Medici in the sixteenth century under the architect, Nanni Lippi. After his death, his son, Annibale Lippi, took his place, and the villa was finished under the son's supervision in 1572. The documents, Italian records of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, have been discovered in both private and public collections.

FRANCE

Annunciation of Aix.—P. JAMOT, in *Révue de l'art ancien et moderne* lii (1927), pp. 155-164 (4 figs.), discusses the identity of the master of the Annunciation of Aix. The Amsterdam Museum has recently lent to the Louvre some small panels of still life, French primitives attributed to the master of the Annunciation. The panels are part of a triptych containing scenes from the life of Isaiah. Both the panels and the Annunciation in their drapery, their architectural and sculptural decoration, their color, and their characterization, seem French rather than Flemish.

A Fourteenth-Century Woodcut.—In *Gaz. B.-A.* xv (1927), pp. 153-158 (1 pl.; 3 figs.), A. BLUM questions the attribution made by J. Renouvier of a Christ before Herod (*B. Mus. Cat.*—fifteenth century) as German. The resemblance of details between the woodcut and a memorial in the abbey of St. Denis in the Church of St. Catherine of the Val-des-Écoliers (1376) are here pointed out and the woodcut claimed as French.

The Franconian and the Mosan School.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 315-322 (7 pls.), M. DEVIGNE dwells upon the artistic exchanges between the Rhine and the Meuse from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. Groups of sculpture in the church of Beck in Belgium appear to belong to the school of Veit Stoss, while isolated figures of Christ, the Virgin, and St. John at Exel, near Beck, also show the influence of Tilman Riemenschneider.

Master of the St. Ursula Legend.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 245-251 (2 pls.), CONSTABLE attributes to Jacques Daret, master of the St. Ursula Legend, a diptych representing the Virgin and Child with Donor in the collection of Lord Lee of Fareham. Comparison with generally accepted works by the master yields correspondences in detail. A strong resemblance between the Donor and Memling's Portrait of a Young Man in the Uffizi leads Constable to date the Lee diptych at about 1487.

Panels from the Ducal Residence at Dijon.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 234-245 (1 pl.), S. REINACH identifies three paintings recorded in a late eighteenth-century manuscript in the Dijon Library as originally belonging to the Dukes of Burgundy and later to the Chartreuse de Champmol. The paintings in question are: the Van Eyck Annunciation in the Hermitage, a Presentation in the possession of M. E. Pelletier in Paris, and a Christ Carrying the Cross in the Louvre.

PARIS.—Pierre Lescot and the Louvre.—In *Gaz. B.-A.* xv (1927), pp. 199-218, L. HAUTCŒUR refutes the contention of M. Battifol in *Gaz. B.-A.*, 1910, that the plans in the Destailleur Collection are those of Pierre Lescot. His argument centers around Battifol's assumption that Lescot's new plans to quadruple the size of the Louvre also involved joining it to the Tuileries. Hautcœur believes that, though the Louvre was quadrupled at the end of the reign of Henry II, Lescot did not join it to the Tuileries.

Pierre Montallier.—In *Gaz. B.-A.* xvi (1927), pp. 12-14 (1 fig.), S. ERNST identifies a picture discovered three years ago in an isolated gallery at the

Hermitage as one called in the catalogue for the sale of the Abbe de Gevigney's collection, *Les Œuvres de Misericorde* (No. 368) by Pierre Montallier, who was an unknown painter of the seventeenth century working in the genre style of Le Nain but with the color of Bourdon. Since Montallier is not mentioned in any art history and no works are attributed to him, any of his pictures that may exist are probably attributed to one of these men.

TOULOUSE.—**The Clock Towers.**—In *Gaz. B.-A.* xvi (1927), pp. 29–42 (11 figs.; 1 map), R. REY describes the octagonal bell tower of St. Sernin at Toulouse which was the model for many more throughout Languedoc. Variations in style and material found in other bell towers are also discussed.

GERMANY

Holbein's Technique.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 67–68 (2 figs.), F. BERTZ gives a description of the methods Holbein used in painting the Schoenborn picture of a young man (Weddegh family). The description is based on the author's study of the picture with a microscope. It was painted (1532) on oak, on which was first placed a ground of chalk and parchment glue, polished smooth, ready for the drawing made with brush and diluted ink. After painting in the blue background directly on the white surface, he tinted the rest of the background to get rid of disturbing whiteness and to make warm luminous preparation for his blacks, which have a warm glow. By means of painting a series of transparent glazes and using on the same picture two media (quick and slow drier), which required great rapidity and sureness of brush handling, he obtained a light refraction which the mixing of oil paint, as in modern painting, will not give. The microscope shows that special brushes were used for painting the fur—that a pointed instrument was used for making the strong growth of hair on the chin, tiny dots all the same size. For painting the Weddegh coiffure Holbein used three shades of glazes. When the local color (light chestnut brown) was dry, he put on darker glaze and while wet, with an instrument of wood or bone, ploughed through the paint, removing the upper dark color and leaving the dry paint below exposed. The light side of the hair is painted below the glaze—this is revealed by the microscope. With a special brush abundant single hairs are drawn with fineness of lines of equal thickness. With all Holbein's marvelous skill in painting gold, brocade silks, furs, jewels, he never lost the broad view of the whole of his subject. He knew from the beginning what he wanted to achieve and exactly how to accomplish his aim—hence, his sublime simplicity.

St. Lawrence Proclaims the Poor to the Prefect.—H. BROCKMANN, in *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 133–134 (6 figs.), maintains that this St. Lawrence is part of the St. Lawrence cycle of the Cologne school by the master of the St. Ursula legend. The realism, the use of color, the composition, link this picture to the Cologne cycle of six, some of which are missing.

HUNGARY

Contributions to the History of the Relations between Florence and Hungary during the Renaissance.—In *Archaeologiai Értésítő*, new series, xl (1923–1926), pp. 189–209, JOLAN BALOGH writes that the reign of Matthias Corvinus was a period of close intercourse between Florence and Hungary. The king summoned to Hungary such philosophers as Argyropulos. Also, he sent envoys every year to Florence to make purchases. Likewise Florentine artists, such as Camicia, came to Hungary. The king also sent other artists to Florence to study. After the death of Matthias, Wlasislaus II continued the relationship. At this time the Florentine influence on the country becomes marked, with such building as

the Archepiscopal Palace at Gran. After the battle of Mohacs, in 1525, these relations were practically broken, because of the downfall of Hungary.

Paintings from the Studio of Solimena.—In *Archaeologiai Értésítő*, new series, xl (1923-1926), pp. 210-226, ANDREAS FIGLER writes that in Budapest there are copies of two paintings by Solimena, the Farewell of Rebecca, and Barak before Deborah. These are copies of the originals in the Viennese palace of the Counts Harrach and apparently are from the studio of the master. A careful analysis of these and the originals, together with other copies, well illustrates Solimena's methods of using his students for copying his own works.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Cathedral Plans of Bishop Count Earl von Esterhazy in Eger.—In *Archaeologiai Értésítő* xli (1927), pp. 156-169, NIKOLAUS SZMRECSANYI writes that when the Cathedral at Eger was built in 1831-1837, it was still remembered that Bishop Esterhazy had planned a cathedral a century earlier. Two plans for this have since been discovered, one by Jozef Grossmann, the other by Georg Karl Zillach. Both plans are very similar and it seems that both were much influenced by Esterhazy personally. The plans show the result of Esterhazy's visits to Rome and are especially reminiscent of the Church of St. Agnes with certain details from St. Peter's. Both plans are more elaborate than the cathedral which was actually constructed.

BELGIUM

Christ as King of the Martyrs by Rubens.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 233-234 (9 figs.), R. R. TATLOCK publishes a Christ by Rubens in the possession of Mr. Henry Roche, London. This Christ proves to be the central figure in the Rubens series of the Twelve Apostles in the Prado, as is evidenced by a comparison with the Christ in the Rospigliosi series by the same painter. The recovered panel should be dated around 1603.

Flemish Art at Burlington House.—R. FRY, in *Burl. Mag.* l (1927), pp. 132-153 (12 figs.), traces the development of the Flemish personality in art from Bosch to Rubens as it is seen in the exhibition of Flemish art at the Burlington House. From the fanciful mysticism of Bosch's St. Jerome to the visual-minded Brueghel, who even in his Fall of Icarus is not released from the actual and the contemporary, to the even more realistic Floris, to the local color of Jordaens and to the exquisite tone and color relations of Brouwer; and, finally, through the union of the Italian graces and the Flemish literalness in Rubens, does Flemish art find itself completely. The swaggering Marques de Lepanez, Mme. Arbier and her children, the portrait of Yrsselius, are among the superb examples of Rubens' work found at the Burlington House. Mr. Fry writes a penetrating analysis of the evolution of Flemish art.

Mabuse and Matsys.—P. JAMOT, in *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 14-25 (6 figs.), publishes, among other portraits, that of a man in which certain mental characteristics are reflected in the face of the subject, and points out that the attribution of this picture to Mabuse is an impossibility. Mabuse was never a prober into human qualities. Jamot gives evidence to show that the sitter is Peter Gillis, a friend of Q. Matsys, and attributes the portrait to the latter, whose other work shows him to be a keen psychologist.

The Renders Collection.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 261-267 (4 pls.), R. FRY examines the more important pieces in the Renders collection shown at the Flemish Exhibition in Burlington House. Fry analyzes a fourteenth-century Calvary of the French School, a Virgo Lactans attributed to Van der Weyden, and a Madonna and Child with Angel by Memling. In each case he gives exhaustive evidence of the painting's authenticity.

A Tapestry at the Merchant Taylors' Hall.—In *Burl. Mag.* l (1927), pp. 156-162 (1 pl.), R. FRY introduces a description by A. F. Kendrick of a tapestry in the Merchant Taylors' Hall in London, by showing that this tapestry is probably one acquired in 1616 from Mrs. Prockter, the widow of the master of the company in 1593. The tapestry is described as being of the latter part of the sixteenth century. It is Flemish, bearing the weaver's mark of Francis Geubels of Brussels. The factory mark is gone, due to the mutilation of the corner in order to make a table cover of it. There is a resemblance between this tapestry and those at Drayton House (which bear the arms of Queen Elizabeth's Earl of Leicester and Warwick), for the oversized birds conspicuously set in the foreground of the latter are like those of the Merchant Taylor tapestry. There must be a common origin for both, or, at least, a very close association.

A Triptych by the Master of the Legend of Mary Magdalen.—In *Gaz. B.-A.* xv (1927), pp. 299-310 (1 pl.; 7 figs.), J. TOMBU reproduces panels in the Figor Gallery in Vienna, the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia, and the museums of Budapest, Copenhagen, and Schwerin which represent respectively Mary Magdalen Hunting, Mary Magdalen Preaching, the Feast at the House of Simon, the Resurrection of Lazarus, and the Apparition of Christ to Mary Magdalen. She believes that they originally composed a triptych, perhaps destined for a chapel dedicated to Mary Magdalen in the Church of St. Gudule, Brussels.

Van der Weyden and Giradhus.—In *Gaz. B.-A.* xvi (1927), pp. 15-28 (12 figs.), F. DE MÉLY discusses a painting attributed in the sales catalogue for the Cernuschi Collection (May 25, 1900) to the school of Van der Weyden. The picture is described and the Flemish points of contact acknowledged, but Spanish influence is also noted. An almost obliterated inscription would indicate Giradhus, but it appears impossible to establish him as the painter. The painting seems to have been done in the south by some one acquainted with the north.

HOLLAND

Hendrik Terbrugghen and Plein Air.—In *Burl. Mag.*, l (1927), pp. 196-202 (7 figs.), C. H. COLLINS BAKER traces the stages by which Terbrugghen reached his final perception of full lit *plein air*, from his first period of hard brilliance while under the influence of Caravaggio.

Peter de Hooch.—In *Gaz. B.-A.* xv (1927), pp. 361-380 (14 figs.), C. BRIERE-MISME publishes some early paintings by Peter de Hooch when he was under the influence of the landscape painter Jacob Ochtervelt. They show little of his later use of lights through open doors and windows. The discussion is concluded in *Gaz. B.-A.* xvi (1927), pp. 51-79 (19 figs.), with a long list of little known or hitherto unpublished pictures. These are roughly divided into three periods.

The Portrait of Lord Mallory by Van Dyck.—A. C. BANG maintains that the Panshanger version and not the Munich version of the portrait of Lord Mallory is the original version. The history of the Panshanger version can be traced from Van Dyck's time to its auction in 1917, whereas the history of the other is uncertain until the eighteenth century. In general, the Panshanger version is richer in detail, sharper in edge, nobler in characterization. (*Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 114-120; 2 figs.)

Some Unpublished Works of Jan Wellens de Cock.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 68-79 (4 figs.), J. G. VANGELDER publishes little known works by de Cock, including the Pilgrim Meeting the Devil, owned by Mr. C. M. Bumo, Paris; St. Anthony and St. Paul in the Desert, owned by Ant. von Willie, The Hague; Temptation of St. Anthony, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden; Temptation of St. Anthony, owned by Gonestik Ker, Amsterdam.

GREAT BRITAIN

Portrait by Teniers.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), p. 272 (1 pl.), C. H. COLLINS BAKER publishes a portrait by Teniers, representing Lady Fanshawe and her Daughter, in the possession of Sir Arthur Fanshawe in London.

Tapestry Weaving in England.—Records of tapestry weavers and work in England may be traced back to the fourteenth century; but the looms set up by William Sheldon are regarded as the first serious venture of the kind in England. M. C. WALLIS, in *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 25-26 (1 pl.), publishes examples of tapestries which he claims are of Sheldon origin because of the naïve simplicity which characterizes the figures and the flora, and because of stylistic and technical peculiarities.

SPAIN

A Drawing by Velasquez and Two Portraits in the Dublin National Gallery.—In *Burl. Mag.* li (1927), pp. 332-337 (4 figs.), A. L. MAYER identifies a drawing in the possession of Messrs. Wildenstein, Paris, as a sketch by Velasquez for the head of Apollo in the Forge of Vulcan (Prado). A portrait of a Man in the Dublin National Gallery is also attributed to Velasquez. Another male portrait in the same gallery, dated 1519 and commonly given to Aldegrever, is here classified as Southern German School.

FAR EASTERN

PERSIA

An Agate Wine Cup.—In *Syria* vi. (1925), pp. 274-279 (2 pls.), ARMENAG BEY SAKISIAN describes an agate wine cup or bowl, recently found by him in the Bazaar of Stamboul. It is inscribed with the name of the Sultan Hussein Baicara, a descendant in the fifth generation from Tamerlane; and a further inscription on the rim consists of Persian verses in praise of wine.

AFGHANISTAN

Monuments and Inscriptions of Ghazna.—In *Syria* vi (1925), pp. 58-60, ANDRÉ GODARD calls attention to the importance of monuments at Ghazna in Afghanistan, which he visited in 1923. When the dynasty of the Ghaznevīdes was established in the tenth century, its culture was purely Iranian. But monuments subsequent to the return of the conquering ruler, Mahmoud, from India, show a combination of Iranian construction with Indian decoration; and Ghazna became an important center and source of Indo-Iranian art. The Indian influence first appears in the tomb of Mahmoud, but is still more apparent in the tomb of Mes'ud; and in that of Ibrahim, belonging to the last days of the Ghaznevīdes, it is dominant. S. FLURY (*Syria* vi (1925), pp. 61-90; 20 pls.; 11 figs.) studies in detail the decorative epigraphy of the monuments on this site, analyzing the successive phases of its style and comparing the inscriptions with other examples of Mohammedan epigraphy.

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1927

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NEWS ITEMS FROM ATHENS

Open Meetings were held at the various foreign Schools in Athens during the winter. The German Institute celebrated Winckelmann's birthday on December 9 by an Open Meeting with an account of the latest excavations on the site of the Heraion at Samos by the Director, Dr. Buschor. The French School gave two Open Meetings, the first on January 25, when M. Roussel, the Director of the School, told of their excavations at Thasos in the Sanctuary of Dionysos, at Samothrace and at Mallia in Crete. On February 22, M. Chapouthier lectured on Delos and the Sanctuary of the Gods of Samothrace. The British School held an Open Meeting on March 5 at which Mr. Heurtley spoke on his recent excavations in Macedonia and the light they throw on the Dorian invasion, and Mr. Woodward described the 1927 campaign at Sparta. Another meeting was held on March 13, when Sir Arthur Evans lectured on "The Southern and Western Approaches to the Palace of Knossos in the Light of Recent Discoveries." On March 27 the American School held an Open Meeting where four short papers were read. Mr. Meritt gave one on the "Reconstructed Tribute Stelae," Mr. Dinsmoor on "Recent Observations on the Temple at Bassae," Mr. Carpenter on "The Masters of the Frieze from Bassae," and Mr. Bonner on "A Dionysiac Miracle at Corinth."

The 1928 excavation season has already begun at several sites in spite of the unparalleled bad weather. Mr. Shear has been carrying on his third campaign in the Theatre at Corinth, Professor David Robinson of Johns Hopkins has been excavating the site of ancient Olynthus in the Chalcidice and Mr. Heurtley of the British School has been investigating prehistoric mounds in the same region. Mr. Kourouniotis, head of the Greek Archaeological Department, has been excavating at Eleusis just beyond the outer wall of the Sanctuary toward the sea, Sir Arthur Evans has returned to Crete to do some reconstruction work in the Palace of Knossos and to prepare material for his third volume (the second volume is about to appear shortly), and Professor Pernier of the University of Florence has returned to Phaistos to study the palace preparatory to issuing a book on the subject. Professor Herbert Koch has been in Athens studying the "Theseion," a detailed study of which he hopes to incorporate in a book.

The reports of the various 1927 campaigns are of great interest. The Swedish Expedition, in collaboration with the Ephor, Dr. Bertos, carried out a second campaign at Dendra in Argolis and, although their finds were not so sensational as the Royal treasure in the beehive tomb, they were historically valuable. Three rock-cut chamber tombs, two of which contained funeral offerings typical of the end of the fourteenth century B.C., were excavated. The third, however, was of unusual size and, although part of it had been plundered in antiquity, the collapse of the roof had protected portions of the chamber. The doorway, which had been blocked with stones in the usual fashion, showed two great stone slabs in the floor forming a kind of sill beneath which was a large pit containing a fine collection of bronzes packed one within another, thirty-three in all. There were six large jugs, seven bowls, four tripods, five lamps, four mirrors, a six-pronged fish-spear, a spear head, a sword, two knives and two razors. Several are decorated with delicately engraved designs of flowers or shell fish, while others have geometrical patterns. Many of them have, still preserved, their wooden shafts. A mirror handle of wood carved with two seated women, one holding a mirror and the other, probably, a branch of a tree, is the most remarkable of the finds although a fragment of textile in one of the lamps is also striking. Within the cham-

ber many fragments of limestone were found which, when pieced together, formed four shaped slabs. One, six feet long and nearly three feet wide, is a stone of sacrifice, with square indentations at the angles inside a high rim; two notches opposite one another probably facilitated the binding of the sacrifice on the table. Two other stones have small head-like projections at one end which call to mind some stone figurines from Troy. The fourth is a stone slab smooth on one side but dotted with small indentations on the other. A low hearth or altar was found against the inner wall of the chamber with traces of smoke on the wall and a quantity of charcoal on the floor. Sunk in the floor were two small pits, one emptied by the robbers, the other contained only the bones of oxen, sheep or goats, among which lay a silver cup with a gold rim, an ivory flower and a sacrificial knife. There were no human remains anywhere in the chamber, and this led Professor Persson (the excavator) to suggest that this was a cenotaph such as Homer refers to. This tomb would, therefore, have been constructed and furnished for some chief who had perished abroad or at sea. Other finds in the tomb include three steatite lamps and four vases, three of Cretan and one of Egyptian alabaster, which is similar to a vase from the Royal tomb at Isopata near Knossos. On the floor lay a bronze sword with hundreds of glass beads from the beadwork ornamentation of its hilt, boar's tusks cut and pierced to sew on a leather helmet, gold ornaments imitating shells, an iron stud from a sword hilt, a seal stone engraved with a deer and hundreds of small ornaments in glass paste with gold leaf covering. Finally, quantities of glass paste beads which, removed en masse, show a bead pattern worked in colors, probably part of a garment, a new feature of Mycenaean art. Much pottery was also found, nearly all broken, but serving to date the tomb at about 1300 B.C.¹

Several excavations were carried out under the auspices of the German Institute during 1927. Professor Brueckner cleared a new area in the region of the Kerameikos in Athens inside the city wall. He examined the Pompeion southwest of the Dipylon and found it to be a new building of Roman imperial times, but beneath it lies an earlier building with foundations of poros and a gravel floor—the Pompeion of the fifth century B.C. The foundations of this building do not go as deep as those of its Roman successor. Below them remains of walls came to light which can be brought into relation with the Themistoclean reconstructions. There appears also a layer of the Geometric period containing among other things a grave with rich sepulchral objects: pottery and a gold band decorated with figures of animals in relief. Still deeper lies a sub-Mycenaean necropolis with many well-preserved graves containing skeletons. Of the personal belongings of the dead there may be mentioned hair clasps, earrings, finger rings, fibulae and pins. Other objects placed in these Mycenaean graves included stirrup vases, small amphorae, small jugs and bowls.² In a Themistoclean pillar of the Sacred Gate a fragment of an archaic stele of poros came to light.³ In the Theatre of Dionysos in Athens Professors Dörpfeld and Fiechter carried out small supplementary excavations at various places in the ruins for the purpose of making a new plan. The most important result was the establishment of the curtain arrangement for the Roman stage, while the most beautiful single object found was a fine oinochoe of the period about 425 B.C. with a scene representing a youth lying upon a couch and a female harpist sitting beside him. At Aegina Mr. G. Welter extended the earlier excavations on the eastern part of the Aphrodite hill. The Early Helladic settlement on the western part was laid bare over a

¹ See A. J. B. Wace, "New Finds in Greece," *The Times*, February 27, 1928.

² Cf. *Ath. Mitth.*, LI, p. 134 ff.

³ Cf. *Ath. Mitth.*, LI, p. 142.

wide area in order to clear up the connection with the great circuit walls on the east and to give a survey of the whole settlement. Rich undisturbed layers were thereby found, from Neolithic down to Late Helladic times. Among the objects found may be mentioned, especially, imported Cretan ware from E. M. III to M. M. II, Cycladic stone vases and numerous Cycladic pots. Built in among the prehistoric walls lay the lowest foundations of two approximately quadrangular treasuries and a circular building of the period of the Temple of Aphrodite. Further objects found include a large early proto-Corinthian skyphos with a frieze of horsemen, a fragment of the thigh of a marble sphinx, a relief of Apollo and the City Goddess on an inscribed stele. Excavations at Tiryns were resumed in September, 1926, after a lapse of many years. They were carried out by Professors Karo, Kurt Müller and E. Kunze. Two areas were examined: the lower town and the upper acropolis. On this latter site west of the eastern wall of the palace and in the midst of the Mycenaean ruins was found the offering pit of a sanctuary with Late Geometric and Early Archaic objects: potsherds, terracottas of the already well known type and many fragments of very coarse clay Gorgoneia in relief. The Sanctuary of Hera was therefore certainly in the upper citadel. The walls built within the megaron, which have been attributed to the earliest temple of Hera, were examined without any definite result. At various places in the upper citadel supplementary excavations were made. The most important single object found was an Early Helladic tiny stone pot with a plastic animal head. In the lower town south of the acropolis part of the area was cleared. It was once bounded by a stream on the south and therefore not very extensive. A few remains of walls and many potsherds date from E. H. times, three graves from the immediately succeeding period (M. H.). The Early Mycenaean strata yielded many beautiful sherds but few walls; the height of building operations here, as on the acropolis, came in the Late Mycenaean times, of which several sub-periods may be distinguished. The town seems to have been built on a uniform system with parallel walls. A number of Geometric graves were later dug into the Mycenaean ruins.¹ The excavation of the lower town was resumed in the spring of 1927. Southeast of the acropolis, directly against the acropolis rock, lies a large megaron of Late Mycenaean times with a front and a back chamber. The main room was divided by three supports in a row, as evidenced by the column bases. In the central line was a rectangular hearth of clay paved with sherds.² Near this megaron a smaller somewhat earlier house was cleared, consisting of two rectangular rooms. In the middle of the larger room was a hearth of this same type. East of this house were still further remains of Late Mycenaean buildings, here as in other parts of the lower town, constructed above pre-Mycenaean walls and broken through by late Geometric pithos graves. In the fall the east slope of the mountain of Hagios Elias was examined. More than fifty Mycenaean tombs were discovered by trial trenches in the northern half of the slope alone. Thirteen were cleared. The majority are the usual chamber tombs with dromos, hewn in the soft rock. Two Early Mycenaean graves consist of a vertical shaft upon which a small side grave-chamber opens. The chamber tombs, on the evidence of the objects found in them, were mostly constructed in Early Mycenaean but reused in Late Mycenaean times. They were astonishingly poor in valuable objects. The chief finds are a large number of well preserved vases. This extensive necropolis, although so far distant, can only have belonged to Tiryns.

E. P. B.

¹ Cf. *Gnomon*, 3 (1927), p. 188.² Cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 80 ff., fig. 112.